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PREFACE

The Havasupai are a small and obscure group of Yuman-speaking Indians living in the neighborhood of the Grand Canyon in north-central Arizona. Our earliest knowledge of them dates from their discovery in 1776 by Padre Francisco Garcés. But they have remained so secluded in their inaccessible canyon home, that we know very little of them even today. There are brief descriptions resulting from the visits of Ives' party in 1858, Coues in 1881, and of James and Curtis' parties at various times. Cushing, who spent a few days with them in 1881, has described *The Nation of the Willows* at somewhat greater length. Their cultural position still remaining in doubt, I was sent by the American Museum in 1918 for a general ethnographic study. Some parts of this have already been published as *The Havasupai Indians of Cataract Canon* (1918), *Havasupai Days* (1920), *Havasupai (Yuman) Texts* (1924), and *The Association Test as a Method of Defining Religious Concepts* (1927). With the exception of the last two, this material appears again in the present paper.

My first visit to the Havasupai in August, 1918, was on behalf of the American Museum, for whom an ethnological collection was made. The second trip (August–November, 1919) was made as William Bayard Cutting Travelling Fellow of Columbia University, with the Museum's further assistance. A third trip (August–September, 1921) was aided, like the second, by the Southwest Society of New York. I am also under obligations to my wife, Erna Gunther, for some tales and incidental material collected in 1921, to Doctor Paul M. Standley and Doctor William A. Setchell for plant determinations, to Miss Edna M. Fisher and Doctor C. D. Shane for determinations of snakes and stars, respectively, to many anthropologist friends for notes, and to Doctor Herbert E. Bolton for the use of a manuscript on the Caddoan Hasinai.

Much of the old life is still open to observation. Social life, religion, and to only a lesser extent, the material culture, of these people is practically intact. Yet let me add for the timorous souls who fear that the inroads made by white culture may be underestimated, that I have used the historical present throughout in my description only as a matter of convenience. My principal informant, Navajilla, was an energetic and well-informed old man, aged 71. So much material is directly autobiographical, that it would have been possible to present this sketch as an account of his life. My interpreters, Jess Chevkapanyega and Mark

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Hanna, both young men, spoke English moderately well, and the first proved himself invaluable.

The phonetic scheme is as follows:—

a	as in father	á	as in but
ă	hat		
e	fate	ĕ	met
i	pique	ĭ	pin
o	note	ŏ	not
u	rule	ŭ	put
ə	law		

The remaining symbols follow the "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages." By inadvertence, the printer has set the stress accent over the vowel in the manner there recommended for pitch accents. Pitch accents differentiate three pairs of words used in this paper: *dhá*, water, *dhá*, cottonwood tree; *hâ'dá*, coyote, *hâ'dá*, left hand; *dǎlpá* a woman's term for her child (lit. issue), *dălpá*, a woman's children. K' probably corresponds to ṭ (cerebral t), but for lack of certainty as to its exact character, the strong trill is indicated as shown. Glottalization is weak. Final vowels are habitually elided. Some words were heard variously: I have not attempted to spell them uniformly.

Some observations of a general sort, such as those on thought, the character of the chiefs, etc., will doubtless seem quite naïve to my professional brethren. While we take these for granted, I can assure them that outsiders do not.

I have made a point of noting what traits are absent among the Havasupai but which might be expected to appear. This is especially important for a tribe of distinctly intermediate cultural position.

The comparative notes which are offered are not so systematic as I wish. I have attempted to include most of the material available in print for at least a thousand miles around the Havasupai. Undoubtedly much has been missed, especially the Mexican material. The literature is scattered and random in content. It is surprisingly incomplete, for, with the exception of the Pima and Hopi, we have nothing like complete ethnographies for the Southwestern tribes. The description of even the material culture in the only spot in the United States where it remains in anything like its pristine condition, has hardly been begun. The comparative work is also somewhat one-sided, for I have made the Havasupai traits my point of departure. In a few cases I have gone further afield for the sake of completeness. But as the Havasupai are not a typical

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lay beyond the Grand Canyon, both east of the Uinkaret Mountains and in the Kanab district. The intervening territory is so rugged and the Colorado so difficult to cross that intercourse was at a minimum. The Paiute did cross to the south side, however, in Walapai territory and to the east, where they moved up the Little Colorado. There were no permanent habitations in the vicinity of the Little Colorado (at least as far up as the falls). The Navaho and Hopi settlements are referred to as located at or near Oraibi and the Moencopie Wash. Navaho and Hopi were encountered in this region, however, and occasionally Paiute, who, for instance, were found on the western side of the river in the vicinity of Coconino Basin about 1855. 101 [133]

There is some question as to how early the Navaho appeared west of the Hopi pueblos. A circumstantial account indicates that the Havasupai met them for the first time about 1864. They were encamped on the plateau above the Coconino Basin, and told of other camps on both sides of the Little Colorado, and from the Grand Canyon rim to the San Francisco peaks. They were not acquainted with each other's language; hence, intercourse was carried on by signs and in the Hopi tongue. The Navaho asserted that they were half of a group living far east of Oraibi and had fled to escape capture by the whites. On the other hand, one Navaho insisted that the Havasupai had raided his camp in the Moencopie district. This incident coincides exactly with the recorded activities of Kit Carson. In 1863 he invaded the Navaho country in New Mexico, capturing some 6000, the greater part of the tribe, and moving them to the Bosque Redondo, where they were released in 1867.[1] 174 648

It is also evident that there was a considerable stretch of unoccupied territory along the present line of the Santa Fé Railroad. References to the Yavapai and Apache clearly indicate that their camps were well down on the headwaters of the Verde River and its tributaries. The notion has gained currency, however, that the Havasupai once lived about the San Francisco Mountains and along the adjacent sections of the Little Colorado—in fact, that they were found there by the railroad explorers of the last century. For example, Hrdlička observes that 114 174 131 [101]

> according to tradition, the Havasupai (or more properly a Pueblo clan or tribe that became incorporated with them) formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado Chiquito east of the San Francisco mountains, where ruins were pointed out to Powell by a Havasupai chief as the former home of his people. As the result of war with tribes farther east, they abandoned these villages and took

[1] *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 41; Lloyd, *The Navajos*, 54 et seq. In 1826 Pattie reached "the chief village of the Nabahoes" four days travel up the San Juan River, this was "distant 30 miles from the Rio del Norte." (Pattie, *Personal Narrative*, 130, 141.)

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refuge in the San Francisco mountains, subsequently leaving these for their present abodes. In this connection it is of interest to note that the Cosnino caves on the upper Rio Verde, near the northern edge of Tonto basin, central Arizona, were named from this tribe, because of their supposed early occupancy of them.[1]

It is true that the Indians refer, in a general way to the nearby ruins as theirs, but what they mean is that those structures were built by the *Uckayágat*, their mythological predecessors.

I have examined the reports of the railroad explorers for more tangible evidence. It seems best to give all the references to Indians in the whole district from the crossing of the Little Colorado westward to the Walapai country. At an early date (1604) Oñate crossed this country but found no one from the Hopi to the vicinity of Prescott.[2] Sitgreaves reports that in October, 1851, Leroux found "a large encampment of Yampai or Tonto Indians, on the edge of a deep ravine, through which ran a stream, which he supposed to be the headwaters of the San Francisco" (i.e., the Verde River); this was on the eastern side of the San Francisco Mountains. He did not speak with them. Others, who fled, were found on the northwest slope. The next reference is to a party of Indians discovered somewhere west of the Picacho or at Yampai Canyon; that is, in the Walapai country. Leroux talked with the Yampai and with one called a "Cojnino" (others were seen) at the source of Yampai Creek (Yampai or Truxton Canyons).[3] In the winter of 1853–54 Whipple noted that "Cosninos are said to roam from Sierra Mogoyon to the San Francisco [Rio Verde or the peaks?], and along the valley of the Colorado Chiquito. Their number has been estimated by trappers at ten thousand—probably a great exaggeration."[4] While he found traces of Indians, he did not see any. Beale made two trips across this country. He refers to the Cosnurio caves, named for the Indians who were said to occupy them.[5] In September 1857 he saw fresh Indians tracks at the eastern foot of the San Francisco Mountains; the next signs were encountered at a point perhaps west of Mount Floyd and deserted huts were found at a locality probably north of the Juniper Mountains. He discovered Indian fields at the head of Yampai Creek (?), which he called a Cosnino camp, and Indians and their camps were seen at the mouth of Truxton Canyon (?).[6] It will be noted that he found no traces between the peaks and Mount Floyd; that he saw no Indians after the Little

[1] *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 326. Compare *Annual Report of Smithsonian Institution for 1889*, I, 84.
[2] Bandelier, (a), I, 109.
[3] Sitgreaves, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16; Cosnu, 222.
[4] Whipple, 32. He saw Yavapai in the western Aquarius Mountains, whence they were said to range to the junction of the Rio Virgen with the Colorado.
[5] Beale, 45, 49, 54, 64, 67, 68, 70.

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Colorado crossing until he reached Yampai Creek in Walapai territory, and that he talked with none. On his eastward trip, he was attacked at Truxton Spring or somewhat farther east. Indians were seen in the vicinity of the Coconino caves, and fresh trails were found just west of the Little Colorado.[1] That is, again he saw no Indians between Yampai Canyon and this river. Ives' party visited Cataract Canyon in 1858; his map No. 2 shows a "Yampai Village" there. On his eastward trip in March and April of that year he found a few Hualpais in the vicinity of Truxton Spring; huts and Indians on the trail leading from a point west of Peach Spring toward Diamond Creek; and saw Hualpais at the Creek. Egloffstein found "Yampais" who "did not differ much from the Hualpais in general appearance" at the present village in Cataract Canyon. Ives also found a deserted village, with huts resembling those in Cataract Canyon, at a point on the plateau far north of Pine Spring, probably above Prospect Valley.[2] But he saw no Indians along the entire route from Pine Spring south to Mount Floyd and eastward by Bill Williams Mountain to the San Francisco mountains and beyond to the river.

The upshot of all this is that not one of these explorers establishes the existence of settlements anywhere along this line, although they passed in autumn and spring, the most favorable time to meet even ranging Havasupai. Their identifications are based on hearsay from their guides, and these—Leroux was probably as competent as any—refer to the Indians of the region indifferently as Yampai, Tonto, or Coconino. Add to this that my informants, who were boys at this time, never once referred to occupation of this region except in the mythological migration period, and that Garcés made the difficult descent into Cataract Canyon in 1776 when he would surely have pursued the direct route from the Walapai to the Hopi villages had there been settlements on it.

Linguistic and Other Relations

Linguistically the Havasupai are closely related to the neighboring Walapai. The dialectic difference is slight. These two are classed by Harrington,[3] together with the Yavapai and Tonto, as the eastern division of the Yuman stock.

[1] Ibid, 79, 80, 82. Incidentally, I was interested in discovering what impression Beale's dromedaries had made on the Indians. My Havasupai informants had never heard of them, although the Walapai saw them, by Beale's account.

[2] Ives, 97, 100, 101, 108, 119. The name Yampai is employed, as by Garcés, for any indifferent group of central Arizona.

[3] *Yuma Account of Origins*, 324. Some lexical material collected by Cushing and Mrs. Stevenson is given by Gatschet, (n. c).

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tion ditches because the sand in which they are built is so light that they easily break.

The main ditches are perhaps two to three feet deep; the others are quite shallow. The ditch system is not complex because most fields that are irrigated lie directly under the main ditches; others are fed by a few laterals. Maintenance of the dams and ditches is not a community affair, but devolves on those whose fields are supplied by the particular dam or ditch. They are dilapidated most of the time, being repaired only as needed. This is to be expected because the material is so light as to wash out easily and it would be futile to keep them up when not in use. There is no set regulation for the use of the water. The supply is large, the need is small, and apparently there is little friction over rights to its use. Yet quarrels have arisen from this source.

Planting is a family occupation, even the children helping to dig holes. Garcés says:—

> I had much complacency to see that as soon it was dawn each married man with his wife and grown sons went forth to till his milpas, taking the necessary implements, as hatchets, dibbles (coas), and hoes, all of which they procure from Moqui.[1]

As a rule each family plants as much corn as possible. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, the year-round food. Corn (*teyd'dj*) is not planted deep; 5 to 7.5 cm. being usual. Straight lines for the rows of hills may be drawn with the foot; their orientation is immaterial. Kneeling, the first hole is scratched with the planting stick (*husdlid*) in the manner of a canoe man wielding his paddle. This is a buckthorn branch (*Condalia lycioides* var. *Canescens* (Gray) Trel.), 2 cm. in diameter, 65 cm. long, with one end cut wedge-shaped.[2] The soil is loosened to a depth of 20 cm. and eight or ten kernels dropped in. Before putting the corn in the first hole, the planter prays:—

mĕdjpák	teyădjmehâna	owi
growing	corn good	I do it.

"Grow good: when your stalk grows, grow tall: grow like the mythic corn." Then he drops the kernels into the hole and chewing another, blows it toward the mythic corn, two white marks high on the canyon wall. These represent the two original ears given by the twin culture heroes.[3] Filling the first hole, he takes two short steps forward, kneels, and digs a second, and so on. The second row parallels this

[1] Coues, 344. A later statement (436), that tribes upstream from the Mohave lack crops, must be taken to mean that the Walapai and Hayuxupai had less than the Mohave.

[2] Cushing, (a), 330, notes the use of a planting stick provided with a footrest, but my informants denied this.

[3] The Zuñi also pray at the first planting (Cushing, (d), 178–179).

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Sometimes peaches, etc., are rubbed over the interior of parching trays to prevent them from burning.[1] 285

When the water bottle is ready for its coating, it is vigorously rubbed all over with a dry corncob so that the fine fragments of the latter will fill the interstices. A mouthful of water is sprayed over the basket, then the soapweed paste is smeared on and rubbed in. This paste is made of old soapweed stalks which are pounded, the connective tissue worked up with water into a dough, and set aside for future use. When wanted it is pounded up and again mixed into a paste with water. After this is applied, a handful of red paint powder is mixed with water and smeared over the still wet bottle.[2] The bottle is then stood in the sun to dry. It next receives a coat of piñon pitch (*ñnaid*). The clear gum of this tree is picked off the bark, and boiled down for ten or twenty minutes until dark brown. A quantity (six or seven cupfuls) of the liquid is poured inside the bottle. Brush is stuck into the mouth to serve as a handle. The bottle is then laid on its side near a bed of coals—the pitch is highly inflammable—and continuously turned over, the heat preventing the pitch from coagulating until it has filled all the interstices. More pitch is evidently poured or swabbed over the exterior of the bottle, which rests on a bed of brush piled over the coals.[3] A piece of cloth or buckskin is frequently placed over the pointed bottom; one bottle (50.2-1640) has a pad of loosely woven yucca fiber, sticking tight to the soft pitch. The pitch does not melt in the sun to any extent after it once hardens. 285 285 381

The material used in sewing coiled baskets is the twig of the *gitsil*[4] (which grows up the canyon, not near the village) or the cottonwood. The bark is scraped off and the wood split. The split sections are scraped to uniform width. They are prepared at leisure and coiled for storage like those of the Pimas.[4] When desired for use they are soaked in water. [171] All coiled baskets are sewed on a three-rod foundation; all three rods being of the same size.[5] The ends of three peeled and scraped cottonwood twigs are mashed and tied in a knot. One end of the sewing element is passed under one rod (*dji'nsid*) close to the knot. The rods are started in a spiral and the binder stitched around them into the center 285

[1] Cushing states that these trays are "coated with mineral asphaltum and earth", (a), 330. This is incorrect; no earthy substance is ever used. His mistake in natural since the ball of mineral tissue which is kept for the purpose looks very much like clay. The point is important, for Cushing's theory of the development of pottery from earthen linings for baskets, based on the Havasupai case, has been widely quoted, (b), 464-497. [164]

[2] I do not understand why the bottles are colored, unless it is intended that this coating color shows through the pitch which is subsequently applied.

[3] My notes are not explicit on this point.

[4] Gilmore, Pls. 15.

[5] Double, single, or two-rod foundations are never used.

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285 of the knot (Fig. 14b). The succeeding stitches of the first coil are also sewed into the knot. The rods are now arranged so that two lie along the completed coil with the third on top and between them. The stitch in the succeeding coils is intended to pass under the third rod, but in most specimens it pierces this rod which the awl splits: it is said that this does not matter. Stitches are spaced to pass between those of the previous coil; not to split them. Stitching is usually fairly regular, but not fine. After two coils are in place the mashed ends of the rods which protrude at the center are trimmed off. Stitching is always from right to left; the left hand holding the free ends of the rods in place while the right manipulates the awl. The sewing strand is brought over the rod toward the sewer and through the coil away from her. The coiled tray, like the twined variety, is held with the finished interior face toward the sewer; stitching proceeding on the far edge.[1] In bowls the finished face is the outside of base and wall: stitching proceeds on the far side of the base, held bottom up, and on the near side of the wall while the bowl is held right side up. That is, viewed from the top or inside, the trays are coiled anti-clockwise and the bowls clockwise, but the direction of sewing is in both cases exactly the same. There would therefore be no technical difficulty in a woman turning a tray into a bowl, but since the hidden face is always left somewhat rough, the decision to make a bowl must be made as soon as the basket is begun.

Fig. 14 (50.2-1663, 1664). Manipulation of Initial Basketry Stitches. *a*, Beginning of twine stitch; *b*, Beginning of coil stitch.

The black decorative figures in coiled and twined wares are made 285 with the black outer layer of the seed pod of the martynia or devil's 531 claw (*hulī'k*^{a}). Two varieties are used: one, with hooks 15 to 20 cm. long is indigenous. The second variety, with hooks 25 to 30 cm. long, [177] was introduced by Pagadjahuda, a Walapai woman who married into the tribe years ago, and who obtained the plant from her older sister who in turn got it from the Paiute. Although the wild plants are also used, it is customary to plant martynia at the same time as corn. The pods

[1] Mason misinterprets his Plate 200, (b), also 687: the undivided face is not the interior.

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285 direction in which the coils were sewn. The binder stitch pierces the
531 top coil between two stitches, returns toward the worker over the rim, and is inserted again between the second and third coil stitch beyond, thus alternating with the other binder strand. A second type of border is identical except that three strands are used (Fig. 15b). A third type (Fig. 15c-d) presents a braided appearance. In this case after the last coil was completed the three foundation rods were carried around for another row. The stitching on this is from right to left, working from the outside on the near wall of the bowl, that is in the direction in which the basket is coiled. A single binding strand is used in figure-eight fashion, the forward loop passing under all three rods and through the top coil, and the backward loop passing under the upper rod only; all stitches are diagonal. That is, the strand is brought down in front toward the left over all three rods, through the last coil, up to right in back, over the rim forward, down to right in front, through under the upper rod, up to left in back, and over the rim forward to repeat for the next stitch. The back loop crosses four forward loops.[1] Mason describes the same type of border stitch, but with only one lower rod and with the stitching from left to right.[2]

285 While the direction of weaving varies in these baskets, it has always the same motor basis, the actions of a right-handed weaver. At present there are no left-handed women whose peculiarity might affect the technique.[3] The direction of twine weaving is always from left to right, the active right hand ahead: that of coil weaving is from right to left, the active right hand following. Whether the coil is clockwise or anti-clockwise depends then on how the basket is held. In particular the change in direction on burden baskets, bottles, and coiled bowls results from the inversion of the fabric during the process. The resulting direc-
[171] tion of the coil baskets agrees with that of other Southwestern tribes.
[114] These observations support Wissler's contention that tribal differentia in direction are not based on physiological peculiarities, but are the subject of traditional habits. On the other hand, the apparent change in direction on a single basket suggests the necessity of a more refined analysis of types in determining their distribution. The desideratum is a record of the tribal hand positions.[4]

285 The decoration on Havasupai baskets is very simple. Twine baskets
531 are decorated by contrasting bands of diverse stitches. Usually bands of

[171] [1] This stitch is used as a method of fastening a Walapai basket in my possession, as well as one from the Aztec ruin and as a border of a bowl from the same place.
[2] Mason, (i), T., (b), 276, Fig. 87. Compare Matthews, (1), 203.
[3] There is one left-handed girl and one man.
[4] Wissler, (z), 404–501; Kroeber, (g), 49–51.

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323 has burned down, the coals are raked away from the center, the pot set right side up on the ground, and buried, inside and out, in coals. A small amount of brush is then set ablaze on top of this, presumably to create a draft. After baking all day and night, the pot may be removed next morning. Only one pot is fired at a time. These vessels are said never to have cracked in firing.

[252] Cornmeal mush is always the first thing cooked in the vessel. A ladle full is given to every comer, more being cooked in the same pot as the supply wanes, in the spirit of ascribing inexhaustibility to it. Pots are supported on three stones when cooking.

[356] Sometimes the bottom burns when cooking so that fine cracks appear, although the vessel does not break. A sort of "alkaline clay,"[1] obtained from the creek bed, is smeared over the faulty spot, beyond which no further attention is required.

[439] Pottery is obtained from the Hopi for storage uses, but not for cooking.

[276] Clay pipes (*dmdl'há'u*) are made of material obtained from the creek bed. The bowl, 5 cm. high, is fitted with an arrow reed stem, 7.5 in. long, in one side. Cigarettes (*wdtamdkwi'dipd*) are made of cornhusk, but not of reeds.

Skin Dressing

281 [462] A Havasupai man's sole specialised product is the tanned deerskin. It is strictly a sex-limited industry, the handling of the skin from flaying the carcass to the finished moccasin or woman's dress is man's work alone. It is also the chief article of trade, which is, on the whole, [439] another male activity.[2]

The fresh skin is stretched on the ground hair side down, with large stones on the neck, tail, and legs, and with smaller ones along the edges. After four or five days of drying in the sun it is as stiff as a board. If the skin contains much fat, it is dried in the shade, otherwise it will putrefy. The rawhide is sprinkled with water until it can be rolled into a loose cylinder, in which condition it can be stored for future use for as long as three or four months, by which time the insects will have gotten at it.

To dehair the rawhide, it is tied down in the creek to soak for a day and night. Dehairing commences with the dawn the next day, not because the sun would dry the hide, but because the process is laborious.

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[1] Undoubtedly the creek is heavily charged with lime salts.

[2] Cushing observes that these people are famous among other Indians for their buckskins (*ib.*, 555). [114] I fail to see any superiority over the products of neighboring tribes, or those of other North American Indians represented in museum collections.

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Hulnish or hula'-chum (3 stars) (Orion)	Mu or emu, mountain sheep (Orion)	Amu, mountain sheep (3 stars)	A-mau (3 stars) (Great Bear)	Amo, mountain sheep (3 stars) (Orion)	Mn-'u, mountain sheep (Orion's belt)

171
821

The Southern Diegueño *Hand*, a group of five stars, appears in the morning and marks the beginning of the year, in all of which it corresponds to Havasupai *Hoop* (Fig. 30a). A further identity lies in the name of the first Havasupai month, *hand+to come*. This suggests either that the correct name of their constellation is *Hand*, that the name has been borrowed and used in a new sense, or that this is an old name for the month common to the two, the Diegueño having changed their designation or the Havasupai their constellation. At first sight the greatest

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Fig. 30. Constellations. *a*, Hoop; *b*, Coyote and Pole; *c*, Cĭlák (Southern Diegueño), *d*, Cold Star (from native sketches).

discrepancy is that the Diegueño date is September and the Havasupai November. But my Diegueño information was confused, while Gifford obtained November as the initial month from the same informant. I think there can be little question then of the identity of the constellations and the correctness of Gifford's calendar. A confirmation of this solution appears if Luiseño Nukulishpo-ma, his hand, refers to the same star or constellation. This is Arcturus, by Kroeber's identification,[1] a star which rises in the morning in early November. Certainty is added by an identification of Diegueño Buzzard, which rises in the morning in the third month (January), with Luiseño Yungavish, buzzard. The latter Kroeber gives as Altair, which does rise in the morning in early January.

[114]

The configuration of Havasupai *Coyote and Pole* agrees with Southern Diegueño *Cĭlák* (which I reproduce from my field notes). (Fig. 30bc) Furthermore both rise in December, if my Diegueño calendar is correct, which is unlikely. Nevertheless, the fact that the constellations figure

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[1] Handbook, 382.

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Thought

So much nonsense has been written about savage thought that it may not be amiss to record that I find the Havasupai clearly the equals of my white acquaintances in reasoning.[1] Granting them their premises and the limitations of their knowledge, their judgments are justified.

The inability of the savage to isolate abstract concepts has also been asserted. As a somewhat indirect test I asked how one thinks[2] (*aʻwaʻdelgá*). Sinyella, who understood the interpreter's question with difficulty explained that he knew nothing about it: he had never been told. Jess to whom the question could be put directly,[3] said that his whole body was involved in thought, although his eyes, head, and to a lesser extent, his ears, were more intimately concerned. Two years later he stated:—

"I feel myself thinking. Perhaps part of my body thinks; I feel it move. Perhaps it is the tendons all over my body: no, they simply move. The blood in my veins goes into my brain and my heart: when it enters my brain I think what I am going to do. My thought goes on all over my body. It (both blood and thought) causes my whole body to move about. (Q.—You are thinking hard, trying to tell me; where do you feel it most?) In my head: it feels as though I were trying hard there." Sinyella added, "Most men say they think with their hearts: I say so too. Some say they think with their heads: they talk about who has the most brains." Jess' wife, who was listening, answered, "I think with my heart."

Like ourselves, Havasupai scratch their heads when in a quandary: *kápdáʻdtátópígá*, "It is hard to say."

The conventional expression is then that the heart is concerned with thought, as it is also the seat of the soul, the life. Jess' answer is however a reasonably good attempt at introspective analysis.[4]

Dreams

So much stress is laid on the connection of dreams with religious phenomena by some writers that it seems important to record dreams and the attitudes to them. Dreams (*tdamddjígá*, *gwétdámáʻdjígá*, cf. *amdgá*, sleep) were obtained from an old man, Sinyella, and a young one, Jess Checkapanyega. These are on their face actual dreams, not stereotyped like those of the Crow recorded by Lowie and the Ojibway visions of Radin.

A distinction is drawn between unimportant and significant dreams. While there are no definite criteria to distinguish them, it seems that those

[1] This is also the well-nigh unanimous judgment of my American colleagues reporting those Indians they know. Curiously enough, published statements of this fact are rare—is it too obvious?—leaving the field to the fulminations of the armchair-philosopher.

[2] See also the remarks on obedience, p. 370.

[3] He has attended school.

[4] These statements modify those made earlier in this series, vol. XVI, 344, footnote.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

its opposite five. The intermediate scores usually have the same progression up to five. In some of the systems a mark on one of the dice brings in another variable, so that two fronts (in a total of three sticks) counts three (or two or one) and the same throw with one of these fronts a marked piece, fifteen. This is the scoring at Laguna, Cochiti, Santa Clara, and Taos. This is probably also the case at Isleta and Nambé but the descriptions are not clear. All four sticks are separately marked by the Pima and Papago, so that a throw of any one of these marked sides counts variously fifteen, fourteen, six, and four. The entire scoring system is arbitrary and not at all dependent on the probability of occurrence of any score; hence, the use of fifteen as the highest score constitutes a further proof of historic connection among those tribes already coupled by the use of the square and four sticks.

Culin has grouped together the moccasin game and the hidden ball game as variants of a single form.[1] To be sure, the fundamental concept is the same; an object is hidden in one of four moccasins, mounds, or tubes. Yet, the areas of distribution are so distinct as to render historical connection improbable. The moccasin game is found among the Cheyenne,[2] Dakota, Southern Siouans, Assiniboin,[3] Central Algonkins, and Iroquois; the mound and tube forms are distinctly Southwestern. The basic ideas are quite simple: the notion of seeking a hidden object may arise anywhere, and that it be in one of four places seems only an application of the common pattern number four. Thus so far as these games are alike it seems a case of convergence.[4] The difficulty in accepting this view is the partial similarity in the scoring.

There are two forms of the hidden ball game in the Southwest. The Havasupai type in which the ball is hidden in one of four mounds is known to the Walapai, Mohave,[5] Maricopa, Navaho, and by mythical reference to the Sia. The Havasupai and Walapai games are identical; the mounds are constructed in two furrows, the ball is made of yucca root, and the counters are drawn one at a time until all sixteen are obtained. In the Navaho game a moccasin is buried in each mound in the furrow and in this a stone ball is hidden. This suggests a connection with the moccasin game to the north, in that the two games have here coalesced. But it is difficult to see how the connection can have taken place.

[1] Culin, (b), 332–342.
[2] Grinnell, (b), I, 259.
[3] Lowie, (b), 58.
[4] The Navaho and Kwakiutl hiding game in which four men are given four grooves shows how the same pattern has combined in a different form (Culin, (b), 376).
[5] Kroeber, (b), 376.

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3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

CHAPTER XIII

THE PEOPLE OF THE BLUE WATER AND THEIR HOME

OF no people of the Southwest, perhaps, has so much utter nonsense been written as of this interesting People of the Blue Water, the *ɲai* (people) of the *vuuw* (blue) *ʔaʔa* (water) — the Havasupais. As far as we know, Padre Garcés was the first white man to visit them in their Cataract Canyon home, and he speaks of his visit in his interesting Diary translated and annotated by the lamented Elliott Coues shortly before his death.

Captain Sitgreaves, Lieutenant Ives, Captain Palfrey, Major J. W. Powell, Lieut. F. H. Cushing, and others in turn visited them, but very little was either known or written about them when, over a dozen years ago, I was conducted to their marvellously picturesque home by Mr. W. W. Bass, the well-known guide of the Grand Canyon.

The journey on that occasion was a remarkable one for me, as, though I was fairly well versed in the trails of the Grand Canyon (having then descended four of them), I had never seen such a trail as was the Topocobya Trail down which we descended late in the evening. Leaving our wagon, after sixteen miles' drive through the Kohonino Forest from Bass Camp, we packed food, blankets, and cameras on horses and burros, and, after two miles of travel in what in Western parlance is called

[pp. 1-198 not processed]

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Preface

This report was first submitted to the faculty of the University of Utah as a thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology. Subsequently, Dr. Leslie A. Spier kindly read and commented upon the thesis in some detail. Where the text has been altered at his suggestion, reference is made to a personal communication from him dated December 3, 1957. It should be added, however, that I assume responsibility for the present conclusions. I thank Dr. Spier for the careful attention with which he evaluated my report. 121 114

Field research was accomplished on four trips, totaling five months spent among the Havasupai. On the first trip (July-August, 1950), major emphasis was upon the collection of census and genealogical data. During the second trip (July-August, 1951), attention was focused upon the life cycle of the woman, population problems, and shamanism. The third trip, lasting only three weeks (November-December, 1951), afforded an opportunity to observe daily routine and other activities at a different season of the year. Interviewing of two medicine men occupied most evenings. A final trip of three weeks' duration (September, 1952) provided contact with a segment of the Havasupai population living at Grand Canyon Indian Village on the south rim of the Grand Canyon proper. (Residents of Grand Canyon Indian Village are employed by the National Park Service and by private business establishments in the National Park area.) During this last trip, interviews with both men and women were focused almost exclusively upon the life cycle of the Havasupai woman. 114

In the summer of 1958, I returned to the Havasupai Indian Reservation for three months to make a study of the primitive tribal religion under a research grant from the University of Utah Research Fund. This opportunity was taken to check certain details, included in the original thesis on the Havasupai woman, with additional informants. The thesis was read and evaluated, in whole or in part, by several tribal members, including original informants. Accordingly, modifications have been made in the present publication. [122] [124]

Although the total number of informants consulted was larger, the data presented here were obtained primarily from nine individuals, three men and six women, ranging in age from 31 to 86 years. I was at all times dependent upon the good graces, interest, and convenience of informants and interpreters, all of whom were unpaid. Occasional small gifts were made to a few individuals who worked most earnestly, but these gifts were never promised nor given as an advance inducement. 115

The definitive monograph on the Havasupai is Leslie Spier's Havasupai Ethnography, published in 1928. This, together with several shorter 114

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

papers, resulted from his field work in 1918, 1919, and 1921. My debt to Professor Spier will be self-evident to Southwestern scholars.

No attempt has been made to detail all credit due Spier for data to be found in his monograph. To do so would be a formidable task, since accounts by present informants closely parallel information recorded by Spier on the same subjects. Spier is cited where his monograph includes material not in my notes, where an idea has been put forth or developed by him, where it seems pertinent to note that Spier's observations differ in any degree from mine or that a culture change has occurred since his investigation, where it seems applicable to bolster an observation by noting that Spier referred to a similar example, and where Spier is directly quoted. In the interest of brevity (both as to manuscript length and time involved in an exhaustive search of literature, most of which is not indexed), only one example from Spier or other sources is cited, although additional references to the subject may occur in a publication.

I wish to express my appreciation for assistance received from the University of Utah Research Fund. It made possible much of the field work on which the present publication is based.

I am indebted also to my husband, Harold Murray Smithson, who financed my first and fourth field trips.

Members of my thesis committee were generous in their efforts to evaluate and to improve the original paper. They include Professors Elmer R. Smith, chairman, and Henry Frost and Robert Anderson, committee members. Professors E. Adamson Hoebel and Edward Norbeck also acted for a time as committee members.

Many individuals have given me encouragement and invaluable assistance. My friend, Lois Snider, now Mrs. Lee Fetzer, shared the problems and inconveniences of the initial field venture. Verne B. Brown, author and professor emeritus of Santa Monica College, observed and took an interest in my field study. I owe to Mr. Brown a special debt, for at a time of difficult decision, it was he who urged that I apply for a fellowship and complete the Havasupai project.

Others who have assisted in ways too numerous to be described here are the following: Laetitia Viele, Episcopal missionary; David and Muriel Chambers, missionaries of the Supai Bible Mission; Marian and Victor Collins, former day school teacher and present resident agent, respectively; Mr. and Mrs. Olaf Barnard, former resident agent and day school teacher, respectively; Austin F. Ladd, assistant superintendent, Truxton Canon Agency, Valentine, Arizona; and Asahel Perry, extension agent, Valentine, Arizona.

101 A.D. 900 and continuing until A.D. 1200, when the plateau was entirely abandoned. Schwartz has reiterated his postulate (1956, 77; 1957, 372), but so
● 114 far as I know he has not presented evidence to substantiate it. Although
172 Schwartz tentatively identifies the Cerbat as the prehistoric antecedents of the neighboring Walapai, he suggests that further research be done to settle this question.

101 The extremely close linguistic and cultural affiliation of the Havasupai
114 and the Walapai is well recognized and has led Spier and others to suggest a common origin for the two tribes. Presumably, the conclusions of Schwartz do not run counter to Spier's theory, but merely place the time of separation for these neighboring tribes further back in prehistory than has previously been assumed. It might then be suggested that the rather high incidence of Havasupai-Walapai intermarriage and their intimate association socially have served as a deterrent to a greater degree of separation in language and culture than that which presently pertains.

Linguistic Relationships and Tribal Name

101 Linguistically, the Havasupai, together with the Walapai and Yavapai,
114 form the northeastern Yuman group, a division of the Hokan linguistic family.
197 Havasupai and Walapai dialects are almost identical and differ but little from Yavapai. Kroeber (1943, 28) states that Havasupai resembles Paipai of Baja California. Whiting (n. d., 27) considers both the northeastern Yumans and the Paipai to be "marginal and relatively close to the ancestral patterns."

Whiting (n. d., 9) translates Havasupai as "the people who live at the place which is green," in contradiction to the euphonic rendition, "people of the blue-green water." The latter he traces to a conscious parallel of Cadman's "Land of the Sky-blue Waters." Whiting considers the syllable "ha," formerly translated as "water," to be part of the color term "havasu," which means blue or green, rather than blue-green. Spier (personal communication, 1957) points out: "The word for the range blue to green (hence either blue or green as we denominate them) is yasu'wa, not hàvasu; any comparison with other Yuman languages shows this. Even if hàvasu were correct, it would combine with ahà (water) as ahàvasu. Whiting still has to explain the initial ahà." Spier (1946, 10-11) renders the term for "blue-green" in Havasupai yasu'wa and in Maricopa xavacu while the term for "water" is ahà in Havasupai and axe in Maricopa. The translations recorded by this investigator were the same as those reported by Spier.

"Pai" means "people" in the tribal names Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai. Thus, Havasupai is an Anglicized contraction of the native designation for this tribe, and Supai, referring both to the place and to the people, is a further abbreviation. Earliest Spanish and Anglo-American references to the Havasupai tribe were under the appelation "Conconino" in a variety of

spellings, the name possibly being derived from the Zuni term for the Havasupai, ka'nina (Spier, 1928, 98). From this source the county where the Havasupai live received the name Coconino. 101 114 197

Intertribal Contacts

As already noted, Havasupai association with the Walapai has been longer and more intimate than with any other tribe, and intermarriage occurs with much greater frequency than with any other group. Few Havasupai families are without consanguine relatives among the Walapai. An elderly man, Shorty Montoya, was pointed out as being "the only true Supai" (that is, he had no ancestors known to have belonged to the Walapai or other tribes). 101 648

Contact with the Yavapai was limited to Yavapai raids upon the Havasupai and retaliatory attacks by the Havasupai until about 1865, when the two tribes agreed to cease hostilities in favor of trade (Spier 1928, 375). Western Apache groups probably joined Yavapai parties raiding the Havasupai (Spier 1928, 356), and raids are generally attributed to them, rather than to the Yavapai. 648 721

The earliest encounters with the Navaho in 1864 (Spier 1928, 95) were somewhat hostile, but trading and friendly relations developed in succeeding years. Similarly, reports indicate that early relations with the Paiute were hostile, but by 1856 (Spier 1928, 360) some Paiutes had taken refuge in Havasupai and Walapai country. Subsequently the three tribes became friendly. A small number of intertribal marriages took place. 648 439

The Havasupai have had a long history of trade with the Hopi. Informants stress that the Hopi are like brothers to them. However, intermarriage has been infrequent. [582]

Spier (1928, 100, 244-5) notes that the Mohave were on the western end of a trade route running through the Walapai, Havasupai, and Navaho lands to the Hopi mesas. Havasupai contact with the Mohave was mostly through the Walapai, but Havasupai sometimes made trading trips to the Mohave.

Political and Social Organization

Leadership formerly rested with chiefs, who achieved office through inheritance or personal merit. Chiefs had no power to command; rather, they acted as advisers and leaders. Succession of chiefs was not automatic and did not necessarily follow immediately upon death of a chief. A period of months or even years might elapse before tribal opinion united upon a successor. 622

The Economy, Old and New

The Precontact Pattern

Before pressures of the white culture were felt, the Havasupai wintered on the plateau. Men, singly or in small groups, went there on summer hunting trips. Whiting (n. d., 51) suggests the Havasupai "conceive of their agriculture as something incidental, a supplement to a nonagricultural way of life." Whiting points out that even today, when farming is virtually their only resource, Havasupai do not take pride in their fields as Pueblo farmers do, regarding the land rather as a confining element which restricts their freedom. He states further (p. 53) that, in the prehistoric economy, neither agricultural produce nor the wild food supply was available in sufficient quantity to sustain the population, and that it was essential for each family to supplement hunting and gathering activities by farming. This view evokes the question of how the neighboring Walapai survived in a similar environment with virtually no farming.

Whiting's thesis is in contradition to Spier's that the Havasupai are so largely agriculturists that the "loss of a crop may mean a famine year" (Spier 1928, 101). Wild food plants were primarily a winter supplement to field products. Spier notes further (p. 108) that hunting is "a man's second occupation, for he relies mainly on his field products."

Perhaps the difference Whiting discerns between Pueblo and Havasupai attitudes toward farming is in part a result of natural environment. Certainly, Pueblo farmers must pit their ingenuity against desert aridity to win a harvest, while a seed dropped in a Cataract Canyon field will grow with only occasional attention from the farmer.

When adverse conditions brought Havasupai subsistence to a dangerously low level, as occasionally happened, some families would go to live with friends or relatives among the Hopi and Walapai. In turn, the Havasupai were hosts to families from both these tribes in years of bountiful harvest.

Spier (1928, 99-100) reported that the Havasupai journeyed from the plateau to the canyon in early spring, planting activities beginning in mid-April. In summer, everyone, except those who were away on trading trips, lived in the canyon village. Corn ripened for use by the middle of June, and the harvest continued until September, when other domestic crops and wild plant foods were also harvested and prepared for winter storage. By the middle of October, family groups were drifting back to semipermanent winter camps on the plateau.

When families were camped in Cataract Canyon, women made frequent gathering trips to the Esplanade. A number of springs there served as focal points for camps of certain families. Ownership of the various springs was vested in specific individuals, and both the springs and the surrounding land were in restricted

Havasupai Reservation includes about 300 acres of cultivable land. Asahel Perry, Indian Service extension agent, opined that in 1938 between 80 and 100 acres was under cultivation. A sizeable proportion of the arable acreage is not utilized due to the small size of individual plots. Almost always a family's holding consists of several patches of land scattered in different parts of the canyon, a consequence of the manner in which land is inherited or is distributed as need arises. Fences and ditches on the periphery of each field occupy a strip of ground about 3 ft. in width. Attempts to persuade tribal members to throw individual plots into a tribal cooperative farming program met with very limited success and the project was abandoned. Removal of fences to facilitate use of modern farm methods no doubt suggests to land owners a possible loss of claim to land or reduction in acreage. 311 [657]

Land ownership is a source of frequent controversy between Havasupai individuals. The Indian Service recognizes no clear legal title of an individual to a plot of land, considering instead that an individual has a right to use the land which it regards as tribally owned. On the other hand, the Indian Service recognizes individual ownership of houses on the land. 423 [578]

Five Havasupai individuals have accepted employment under the Indian Service Relocation Program. Three men, two of them unmarried, returned to the reservation within a short time. One man, a family head, has now been employed in a Los Angeles furniture factory for three years. An unmarried woman, in hospital work for 18 months, probably will continue on relocation; she had been previously employed off the reservation for approximately six years. 657

Religion

Havasupai religion finds expression in the songs and simple ritual of the sweat bath, in mythology, and in a body of traditional folk beliefs, as it does also in funeral customs and in shamanistic practices. Although religious ideology and ceremony are weakly developed, orientation toward the natural world and explanation of certain phenomena pertaining to man and his environment is made primarily in religious terms. 771

Spier (1928, 289) classed the Havasupai with the Great Basin tribes in meagerness of religious development. He states that they resembled both the "Basin-Plateau and Californian peoples in relative prominence of the shaman, the acquisition of power through dreams, not visions, and an hereditary bias to shamanism." They resemble, he says, the Southwestern tribes only in their infrequent use of prayer plumes and in prayers for rain and crop fertility. Traditional killing of an unsuccessful shaman he likens to the practice of the lower Colorado tribes. 771 114 171

When I asked my companion the cause of this fight, she shrugged and said, "That [illegitimate] boy is always mean." Questioning was not pursued because other people were present. No one was found later who knew, or would state, the reason for the fight. Later observation of the boy did not bear out the judgment that he was "mean." (Leslie Spier, after reading this account, noted that "It has been my experience with Indians elsewhere, time and again, that they use 'mean' to characterize aggressive behavior rather than saying that the person is irritable, disagreeable, or given to petty jealousies.")

Verbal rifts occur more frequently than physical combat. It was observed that if an individual knew another person to be angry with him, he made an effort to keep out of sight until the anger had cooled "because he (or she) might try to fight me." There is a public attitude of passivity toward disagreements between individuals. Much talking and little action is customary both in private and public quarrels.

Quarrels frequently arise in connection with marital infidelity, land inheritance, boundary disagreements, and gambling debts. On the reservation, jealousy and antagonisms have developed over the few salaried positions available, and alleged favoritism by government employees has occasionally drawn lines between factions. Rivalry over tribal leadership is probably as old as the tribal tradition of chieftainship, with certain disgruntled claimants refusing for a lifetime to concede what they deem rightfully their prerogative.

Discipline

Discipline is said to have been more rigid in former times. "Then parents were strict, real strict. They didn't let their kids get away with everything." Children's ear lobes were pierced and long pieces of sinew or string were threaded through. When a child failed to respond promptly to a request, a jerk on the string brought him into action. Threats of spankings or denial of privileges were carried out if necessary. Small rewards were sometimes promised. A severe measure, apparently used only on boys, was to smoke an offender over a fire of horse dung while he was tied by his heels to a tree limb. Two elderly men are said to have undergone this punishment frequently in their youth. One of them has failed to punish his own sons in this manner, although they are popularly thought to deserve it. They are said to be "mean" "because their father was a mean boy."

Today, parents may note, but display little excitement over, their children's misconduct in trivial matters. If one child behaves aggressively toward another or a dispute occurs, parental interference usually is verbal and seldom is loud or angry. Occasionally, a child is slapped or is beaten with a stick, but no severe beatings, or punishments administered in anger

848 culture pattern regulating premarital sexual activity; (2) abortion, and/or
847 (3) infanticide. Greater premarital sexual freedom is the reason given by
178 the Havasupai to explain their belief that illegitimate births are on the increase. The practice of abortion is acknowledged for both present and past times. Informants, now cognizant of Christian ethics, readily described a method of abortion, but became vague concerning cases in point and
[114] denied any knowledge that infanticide ever was practiced. However, Spier
[845] (1928, 301) describes the destruction of a female twin by burial. The practice of infanticide for removing an unwanted twin suggests the possibility of a similar fate for illegitimate infants.

848 Because paternity of an illegitimate child is very often in doubt, and the mother usually is living with her parents, such a child is born in the household of his maternal grandparents, where he remains at least until his mother marries. His mother may leave her child to the care of his grandparents if she goes away for employment or other reasons. A child's age at the time of his mother's marriage appears to have some bearing upon his future residence. A nursing infant or a very young child is likely to accompany his mother. Reasons appear to be: (1) a young child's greater dependency upon his mother for nursing and other care; (2) absence of strong attachments which often exist between an older child and his grandparents; and (3) possibly a stepfather's quicker acceptance of a very young child. However, men appear to accept stepchildren of all ages quite readily. If an illegitimate child's mother marries a man who believes himself to be the child's real father, the child, regardless of age, usually resides with his mother and her husband; at least, no example to the contrary could be discovered. Temporary maternal residence, if it is prac-
[941] ticed, provides an illegitimate child and his stepfather an opportunity to accept or to reject one another before any decision concerning future residence need be made. Family residence patterns, however, are plastic enough to permit a change if an illegitimate child or a stepchild is unwanted or himself wishes to leave his mother's household. If grandparents or other close relatives were willing, such a child would simply join their camp, either on a temporary or a permanent basis.

848 Occasionally, the grandparents of an illegitimate child show more
603 concern for him than does his mother. In one example, an illegitimate baby born at Tuba City was given by his mother to a nurse at the hospital. The mother had attempted to conceal her pregnancy and denied to friends that she had had a child. Her father, however, got the truth from her and recovered the baby, who lived with his grandparents during infancy and eventually became the ward of a bachelor paternal granduncle.

In another example, an illegitimate boy of two years lived with his maternal grandparents in Grand Canyon Indian Village, while his mother, employed as a cabin girl, lived nearby with some girls her own age. His mother spent most of her leisure hours with her girl friends, or preparing for and keeping dates with boys. The boy's grandmother, who cared for

881 A girl's careless attitude toward subsequent observance of menstrual
84 taboos does not necessarily suggest that the same girl would have felt un-
concern for tradition during her initial menses. On the contrary, flaunting
[177] of taboos more likely results from: (1) accidental infractions not followed
by dire consequences; (2) association with girls of other tribes who, al-
though not observant of Havasupai taboos, suffer none of the predicted pen-
alties; and (3) white education and influences.

881 In addition to the possible factors outlined above, Havasupai cultural
183 patterns are defined somewhat loosely, individual and group behavior ap-
proximating, rather than following, that set forth in the prescribed patterns.
Thus, a casual attitude toward underviating observance of menstrual and
other taboos, and toward performance or omission of behavior seemingly
dictated by tribal mores, in itself, appears to be characteristic of Hava-
[114] supai culture. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "Your
remarks on casualness as characteristic of Havasupai behavior are very
just in my opinion. It does correlate, as you say, with their individualism
and the variations in activities they choose to follow."

Although this casual attitude is evident in behavior, it is only indirectly verbalized. While a child becomes the creature of his culture, it would be premature on present evidence to conclude that either the implicit casualness or the verbalized imperatives concerning the puberty ceremony might predominate in determining a pubescent girl's attitude toward omission of her puberty ceremony and her emotional reaction to the situation.

Physiological phenomena incident to menstruation, such as pain, nervous tension, dizziness, or weakness, must be discounted as factors conducive to greater emotional stress among pubescent girls absent from home, because the same symptoms doubtless occur also among girls at home.

In the absence of a conclusive explanation of the different responses reported for the two groups of pubescent girls, it is suggested that the puberty ceremony itself minimizes any emotional or physiological distress a girl may feel.

Functions of the Puberty Ceremony

981 The puberty ceremony functions to obtain public recognition of a girl's
182 impending change in status from childhood to womanhood. The ceremony
is held in private and is followed by no formal public announcement. Per-
haps this correlates with statements that the puberty ceremony does not
mark the beginning of adult status and eligibility for marriage. News of
a girl's attainment of puberty is passed from person to person with about
the same interest evoked by other tribal gossip. The private nature of the
Havasupai puberty ceremony and the lack of emphasis upon its association
with subsequent eligibility for marriage are in contrast with the public
character of the Apache rite, and the accompanying change from prior

881 wife and mother, and to follow the proper observances and taboos through-
515 out her life, so that she may remain young, attractive and vigorous.
302

It is believed that the face of a girl while menstruating or following childbirth must be washed in cold water because hot water causes wrinkles. Premature greyness will result if a girl touches her hair while it is wet, and she is also forbidden to eat before her hair dries. (An informant explained that failure to observe these rules causes white women to turn grey while young. Informants frequently made comments of this kind to explain the premature aging of white women who were thought to fare less favorably than the Havasupai women.) The girl's mother dries her hair by catching strands in her fingers and flipping the ends with a stick.

Spier (1928, 338) describes a bath and shampoo on the first of the four days during which the puberty ritual is observed. He notes that, "A girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days. Then she may wash her hair and body." Present informants state that a pubescent girl should be bathed on four successive mornings, beginning with the first day of her menses. Subsequently, except following childbirth, a girl should not bathe until four days after commencement of her menses. She arises while it is still dark, bathes herself and shampoos her hair in yucca suds.

[386] Following her bath, a girl's body and face are painted by her mother with powdered red ocher, or with liquid red dye from the fruit of the opuntia cactus.

If powdered ocher is used, no deer fat or other grease is mixed with it, because a girl's face would remain oily like the fat. At present, cosmetic
[641] cream, lipstick, and cream rouge are taboo during menstruation for the
[177] same reason. However, it is suspected that lipstick, at least, may be used by girls who are being courted, especially at boarding school or at work outside the reservation.

Before metal strainers were available, liquid dye was obtained from
386 the opuntia by pressing and draining the juice from the pear seeds over a
415 primitive strainer fashioned from Mormon tea plant stems placed across a pottery bowl. If the opuntia fruit were out of season, dye was made by boiling the dried opuntia pears.

881 Spier (1928, 338) states that a girl is "painted red, save for her face
302 which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia." In a personal com-
[114] munication, Spier added that the red to which he referred for body paint was
[822] red ocher. (While ripe opuntia pears are purplish red and the dye obtained from them may be more brown than red, informants referred to it as red dye.) Spier's informants thus described the use of a red paint for a girl's body and dye from the opuntia fruit for designs on her face. Spier (personal communication, 1957) states that all-over body paint was invariably red. Several informants now assert that either powdered red ocher or opuntia dye

291 ship period.
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832
●[114] Spier (1928, 183-97) describes clothing and personal decorations for both sexes in more detail than present informants are able to give, but some supplementary data can be added to Spier's.

291 In aboriginal days, both young girls and mature women wore a buckskin dress of a style copied in the puberty dress already described. For daily wear, a dress apparently was uncolored. Its usual decoration con-
[301] sisted of buckskin fringes, hoof or bone rattles, or metal jinglers.

Feminine apparel also included hard-soled moccasins with a long upper piece wound around the leg (Spier 1928, 191), a short apron worn in front under the skirt, a wide buckskin apron or belt decorated with rattles, and a woven Hopi belt (Spier 1928, 188-9). A woman originally draped a rabbit-skin blanket around her shoulders. Spier (1928, 189) reports that the blanket was replaced by a shawl, made from four bandannas, which was knotted under the chin and hung to the heels in back.

[297] Two hat styles, a woven basket type and a skin hat cut from the thigh
[295] of a mountain sheep, deer, or antelope, were reportedly worn infrequently by men in aboriginal times. Informants who described the men's hats in some detail knew of no corresponding hat ever worn by women. Another
[445] informant denied that basketry hats were ever worn by either sex, stating that baskets of this shape were in daily use as food bowls, both as containers and as receptacles for food to be eaten. For protection from the sun, women stripped the long leaves from a yucca, tore them in half, and wrapped two a three of them around the head and knotted them on the forehead.

Present informants describe a later style of buckskin dress worn for dances until perhaps about 1940. It was fashioned from two large buckskins
[177] with sides sewn together, the buckskin sometimes being stained red with powdered ocher. A woven Hopi belt of colorful design was knotted at one side, with its ends hanging free. Metal jinglers sometimes were added to the belt ends and to the skirt edge. Necklaces and bracelets of silver,
[301] turquoise, or shell were worn with these dresses, and women painted their
[302] faces variously with red, white, or black designs. The rock for red and white paint was of local origin, but the black came from some distance and was rarely in supply.

Buckskin clothing in aboriginal times was made exclusively by men for both sexes. Dance dresses of the above style reportedly were made by
[768] Chief Watahomigie for his granddaughters, Harriet and Edna Yumieka, and by Dean Sinyella for his daughter, Irene, but these dresses were destroyed upon the death of their makers. While beading was learned at boarding
[177] school by a few women now near middle age, and two or three older women had acquired the skill elsewhere, it was seldom if ever used by the Hava-supai.

834 she preferred to dress her daughter in waist overalls to discourage any
864 attempts by male playmates to pull her pants down or to make sexual overtures. She stated that she had warned her daughter against permitting any of the boys to disturb her clothing, and against exposing herself in a boy's presence. Nearly all little girls at present, however, wear dresses rather than overalls.

834 As a girl grew older, she was discouraged from association with boys
867 outside her kinship group. The pattern of isolated residence made it easy for parents to watch their daughters closely most of the time. Nuclear or extended families camped together during plateau residence, and, commonly, any close neighbors would be relatives. Their semi-nomadic isolation during much of the year afforded young people few opportunities to meet away from the vigilant eyes of parents.

867 Children of both sexes were taught from early childhood to beware of
609 strangers, the threat of enemy raiding parties being a constant worry. Girls, in addition, were expected to remain in the background when visitors, other than relatives, were present, particularly if boys their own age were in the group. Reportedly, the infrequent meetings between unrelated families resulted in extreme shyness of both sexes. The culture dictated that, ideally, a girl conduct herself with reticence and modesty.

[827] Boys, reportedly, were warned to refrain from sexual indulgence be-
[864] cause it would hinder proper growth and weaken them physically. When girls reached puberty, they were instructed that sexual relations would result in pregnancy. Spier (1928, 324) notes that 35 years ago adolescent
[114] girls remained under their mother's supervision, not being permitted to
[177] go about the reservation freely. Perhaps regular school attendance has broken down this restraint upon young girls. At any rate, girls of today come and go, alone or in small groups, much as they please.

574 Although a family formerly spent much of the time in solitude, families
857 assembled for economic or social occasions such as the pinyon nut harvest,
571 cooperative hunting activities, intertribal trading, funerals, autumn and winter story-telling, and, sometimes, visiting. Also families were close neighbors during the regular planting and harvesting season in Cataract Canyon. On such occasions, both on the plateau and in the canyon, play groups would almost certainly include unrelated children. There must have been opportunity on such occasions for young people to arrange secret meetings.

571 Concentration of tribal families on the reservation about 1885, and later at Grand Canyon, brought individuals into continuous group association.

observed the old ways at first hand) stated positively, "If a couple slept together, and everyone knew it, they were considered married. That is how the old people always said it was in their time." However, he conceded in his next statement that a publicly known sexual union at a girl's home did not always result in a permanent marriage: 582-585

"Sometimes the girl didn't want to get married, but after dark when the boy who wanted her crawled into her bogan, she might let him sleep with her. He might come like that for a month or two, but she could keep on acting like she didn't want him. If she really didn't want him, then she would tell him to go away and would start fighting him. Sometimes he didn't come again if he thought she meant it. 582

"Or the boy might decide he didn't want that girl for a wife after he stayed with her for a few nights and he would just quit coming. Maybe her folks would be mad about it, but if she didn't show up pregnant from him, they didn't try to do anything.

"If the boy wanted the girl he kept on coming around at night even if the girl went on acting like she didn't want him. Her folks knew what was going on, and pretty soon if she didn't say she wanted to marry, they would talk to her. They told her, 'Now you'd better get married. You been sleeping together for a long time and it don't look right if you're not married.' Then the girl would go with the boy to his place."

The preceding statement not only suggests that temporary sexual unions of the pattern formally initiating marriage sometimes were terminated after a short time at the volition of either party and that such a possibility was recognized, but it also suggests that temporary matrilocal residence, sometimes no more than a gesture of nightly visiting, may itself have been in the nature of a trial period. (However, the latter could have been true only when matrilocal residence was of shorter duration than that defined as average.) [591]

Trial marriage may have taken root in the custom of matrilocal nightly visits which apparently were part of the courting period in earlier days. Further, present laxity in chaperoning unmarried girls, closer association between young people, greater freedom from time consuming economic responsibilities during youth for both sexes, and a pattern of premarital sexual license probably all contributed to establishment of the institution of trial marriage in the present culture.

The formality with which I have interpreted these cases and informants' comments has been questioned by Leslie Spier, perhaps with justice. He wrote, "You asked me if I thought you had made too much of trial marriage. I do think you have made it seem more formal (and formidable) than is quite warranted. Trial marriage of a sort is common enough in many societies--and in some segments of our own--so that there seems nothing very special about the present Havasupai attitudes. Rather I think, as you imply as an 14 582

582 alternative, that you have here a breakdown of former conventional behav-
14 ior. . ."

Marriage Arrangements

Marriage, in former times, was initiated according to either of two dis-
584 tinct patterns. The more formal one was characterized by prior agreement between the two families and by an advance gift from the groom to the bride's parents. The other consisted of a groom's nocturnal visit to the bride's bed, with presentation of a gift to her parents at a later date. Either pattern was equally acceptable. Apparently, the former was customary (1) if the marriage were instigated by the parents, (2) if the bride and groom were unacquainted, or (3) if the groom were bashful. The latter pattern found favor among couples who had already become lovers, and among men who felt sure of acceptance or who were spurred by an adventurous spirit.

Parentally Arranged Marriages

In the first form of marriage, a boy who wanted a particular girl asked his father to obtain her for his wife. The boy's father either spoke to the girl's parents himself or asked a friend to make the proposal. If a suitor were a boy with no close relatives, or if he were a man of mature age, such as a widower, he usually asked a good friend or some man of recognized oratorical ability to represent him, a service performed without remuneration. While it was permissible for a suitor to speak for himself, and mature men often did so, a young man was usually too shy.

A proposal normally was delivered in a conversational manner, but a suitor's representative, particularly one given to public speaking, tended to make more of the occasion with a recital of a prospective bridegroom's virtues. A proposal might be accepted at the time it was made, but as a rule a prospective bride's family required some time to consider the matter.
[583] Occasionally, several visits were exchanged by the two families or their representatives before an agreement was reached. A particular gift was sometimes promised in the initial proposal, or this subject could properly be omitted. If the nature of a gift or its value was unsatisfactory or if a girl's parents wished to broach this subject, further discussions would ensue. While parents usually consulted the wishes of their daughter, if she refused a choice they approved, they might insist that she accept. When the question was decided, the girl's father, or his representative, delivered a reply to the suitor or his representative.

Occasionally, if a couple was well acquainted or had fallen in love, the youth proposed directly before consulting their respective parents. However, it was deemed proper that a boy should seek his parents' approval before making any advances to the girl or her parents, for his relatives (especially in the older generations) might know that he and the girl were

592 third wives who had a mean age of 22.7 years. The latter age for wives is several years above the mean age for females at marriage for the general group of 1880-14 which, in turn, is several years above that for females in the general group of 1910-14. This could well be a reflection of the diminishing role parents are playing in marriage arrangements. It appears to indicate that, when permitted some freedom of choice, girls less readily marry men much older than themselves.

Men in the earlier time period were marrying second or third wives 33 years, or a generation, their junior, a circumstance which suggests that friendship between the groom and the bride's father was more significant than that between bride and groom and that fathers were not unwilling to see their daughters married at an early age to men they personally favored. (Spier, in a personal communication, suggests that a more important reason for the marriage of older men to young girls in the earlier period probably was the shortage of women in the 20-45 age bracket. This factor certainly could have been the determining one, and appears more important than any other. Informants, however, seemed unaware of this circumstance, and advanced as reasons a father's preference for one of his friends as son-in-law, and the larger or more valued gift an older man might be able to give.)

582 587 Greater longevity of males and their tendency to remarry if widowed or divorced are factors affecting both age and availability of marriage partners in the entire population.

In the 1959 population, only nine of the men over 50 years of age failed to remarry after being widowed or divorced. Of these nine, five had been married more than once. There were 16 married men, only six of whom were still living with their first wives. Seven men were married to a second wife, two were with a third wife, and one man was with his fifth wife, the latter having been twice divorced and twice widowed. Eight, or half, of the married men had wives more than 10 years younger than themselves. Eleven men had married women younger than 50. Because the sex ratio is nearly balanced for adults below 50, marriage of so many older men to wives so much younger than themselves creates a shortage of marital partners for men in the younger age groups.

In the present adult population, there are six marriages with a wide age difference, the husbands ranging from 15 to 41 years older than their wives. All six men have been married once or twice previously, while five [594] of the women are in their first marriages. Only two of the women themselves chose their husbands, the other three marriages having been arranged between the wife's parents and the prospective grooms.

592 A primary factor limiting availability of marriage partners is kinship. In such a small population group, every person must be distantly related to every other person, but this has been recognized or conceded by few

586 Public opinion favored the divorce and the man's marriage to the girl who
595 had borne his children. While one informant quoted the wife as saying she
842 wanted her husband to marry the other girl, a second informant remarked, "It seems like his wife's hanging onto him when he ought to marry and help her raise his children." As previously noted, the solution seems to be an unofficial polygynous marriage, with the man visiting the women alternately although, at present, he actually lives alone in a separate house and a different location.

Problem of Tallying Divorces

586 It is difficult to make an accurate estimate of the number of divorces
582 among the Havasupai because of the uncertain status of marriage previously described under trial marriage. Numerous cases were recorded of "marriages" which terminated after a few weeks or a few months. Occasionally, matrilocal or patrilocal residence was practiced, but frequently such a marriage occurred during summer employment at Grand Canyon and terminated at the end of the season, or was of equally indefinite character. Individuals often neglected to mention such marriages or denied them if questioned, but occasionally they would admit that they had considered it a real marriage at the time and ended it because they didn't get along. (Spier remarks in a personal communication: "With respect to the frequency of
[114] trial marriage and divorce, I am reminded of Elsie Clews Parsons' comment on Zuni, where conditions were much like those of the Havasupai. She called it 'brittle monogamy.'")

581 In the present population, marriages of couples with children appear
586 much more stable when the numerous early divorces are taken into account. However, this statement may be misleading: nearly all married couples have children after a few years together, and most divorces occur in the first months of marriage (following trial marriage) when, obviously, the absence of children is not a factor.

587 At present three childless women are married to men of other tribes,
842 and two men are married to women of other tribes who have borne them no children. Two older women, married for many years, remain barren.
[595] One of them is the polygynous wife previously discussed, and the other kept house for her husband's two nearly adult sons and helped care for his grandchildren. Another woman had four children, all of whom died in infancy.
[165] A fourth woman had a family by her first husband and may have been beyond childbearing age when she married her present husband. A fifth woman,
[586] still young, was divorced by her first husband for barrenness and was once separated from her present husband for the same reason. Three brides of the last five years have had no children as yet. All other Havasupai wives have children by their present husbands.

586 Six divorces involving children have been described previously. In the
587 present population, all divorced mothers save one have remarried, and
842

Death

The customs pertaining to death and disposal of the dead were reported by James (1903, 259-64) for the turn of the century and by Spier (1928, 267-9, 282-3) for a period about 20 years later. Their accounts, together with my recent observations, provide rather detailed documentation for abandonment of cremation in favor of burial and establishment of a different mourning ceremony by diffusion from neighboring tribes and assimilation of certain ideas from white contact. The Mohave dance which Spier saw being practiced is now performed as a regular feature of the funeral complex, and I participated in such an all night ceremony in 1951. However, an adequate treatment of such material would be too lengthy for inclusion in the present paper. 764

In brief summary, a corpse is washed and dressed in its best garments, wrapped in a blanket or placed in a coffin and buried, usually in a hole dug for the purpose. The ceremony, consisting of a dance borrowed from the Paiutes and songs from the Mohaves, both arriving via the Walapai, is held for one or more nights, depending upon the prestige of the deceased and the desire of the survivors. Gifts of clothing and personal property of the dead person are buried with the body or burned. His house is abandoned temporarily or permanently or is torn down and sometimes rebuilt on another site. A house may occasionally be burned, but this was not reported for recent years. A horse or two belonging to the deceased is shot and a few fruit trees may also be cut down. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes that crops formerly were destroyed on the owner's death, for they were considered personal property. [177] [768] [114] [423]

Intermittently, memorial services similar to the funerals have been held about a year after death, but this custom has not been fully established among the Havasupai. In the same communication, Spier pointed out that "a memorial service, held for a single dead man or a group, at intervals of a year or longer, is characteristic of all the lower Colorado Yumans, the Walapai, the southern California tribes, and those northward through the San Joaquin valley. It was possibly derived by the Havasupai from the Walapai, indeed, probably was so derived." Such a memorial service seems contradictory to the Havasupai desire to forget the dead because of their ghost fear, and this may explain why the custom has not become more popular. In the case cited, the deceased was a favorite son. [114] [771] [765] [769]

A widow cuts her hair short but wears no special clothing. Relatives of the deceased observe a name taboo for about a year after the death, and other people are careful not to remind them of the dead so they may forget quickly. To speak the name of the dead would be to call him back to his relatives; in his loneliness he might seek to take a relative with him to the land of the dead. Survivors sometimes dream of a dead relative, and a shaman may have to sing over the dreamer to drive the spirit of the de- [551] [787] [755]

CHAPTER VI

ECONOMIC STATUS AND ROLE

Division of Labor

Economic activities were not in precontact times as sharply sex-limited among the Havasupai as among some primitive groups. It is questionable whether more than two or three kinds of work were strictly limited to one sex or the other. Masculine occupations included hunting, skin dressing, and manufacture of clothing, weapons, and tools. Women gathered wild plant foods, cooked, prepared food for storage, manufactured baskets, pottery and a few miscellaneous articles, and took care of the children. 462

Predominantly Male Activities

Although agriculture was primarily a man's responsibility, all members of the family assisted at every stage. Spier (1928, 102-4) also made this observation. Housebuilding was another task commonly undertaken by cooperative efforts of both sexes, the heavier work being done by men. Trade was carried on by both sexes, although it was primarily the domain of the men.

Men did not weave baskets or make pottery, but members of both sexes occasionally engaged in all other occupations listed. Men were the hunters, but an entire family might help in locating game and driving it toward the hunter. A father sometimes trained his daughter to hunt if he had no son or if she showed inclination or skill in this direction. However, a girl so trained did not hunt independently, and upon reaching adult status she might continue to hunt with her husband, but the ordinarily feminine tasks took precedence as her primary responsibility. [224]

Spier (1928, 146) notes that tanning buckskin "is strictly a sex-limited industry, the handling of the skin from flaying the carcass to the finished moccasin or woman's dress is man's work alone." On the other hand, James (1903, 231), who made a few observations during a brief visit and was perhaps less than an accurate reporter, recorded that "men and women both dress the buckskins for which the Havasupai is so famous." As hunting laws now restrict the number of hides obtainable, only a few men were observed tanning hides. The casualness with which most tasks are undertaken and the delight of sharing work suggest that women may possibly have assisted in the tanning process and perhaps in clothing manufacture, but it is unlikely that women undertook the tanning operation independently. Today, when a man brings a hide to the sweat lodge to rub and stretch it while he gossips, two or three friends may join in this operation, and it may be [114] [224] [281] [474]

462 that his womenfolk may have assisted in this casual way in former times
[1176] when hides were tanned in plentiful supply for trade that would benefit the
[281] whole family.

Clothing manufacture was men's work, and a man cut and stitched for
[394] himself and all his dependents. However, as might be expected, influences
[177] brought a reversal of sex roles in this occupation. Availability of woven materials and of ready-made clothing brought a change of style also. Cotton dresses at first were stitched by hand, but today a few women use treadle sewing machines. Spier (personal communication, 1937) records
[134] that there were a couple of treadle sewing machines in use in 1918. All men's clothing and much of that worn by women is purchased ready-to-wear.

As mentioned previously, puberty dresses continued to be made by men as long as they were in vogue, and a few of the older men still know how to make them.

The art of chipping stone points has been in disuse for so long that
[324] several informants denied that the Havasupai ever made them. One old
[821] man explained that old men in his youth told him that points for arrows and spears came down to the earth on lightning, fell on trees, and slid to the ground unbroken for Havasupai use. Another man said that the Havasupai obtained stone points by picking up those shot at them by Apaches.

At the present time, points of fine workmanship and a variety of types and sizes may be picked up in the canyon, but younger informants urged me not to let the older people know I had collected any. As one woman
[775] phrased it, "In the old days they belonged to people who are dead, and it might bring a ghost around if you handle them." The same request was made concerning potsherds, which abound in a profusion of types. However, an archeologist was able to obtain permission to excavate in the canyon a couple of years later.

Women's Work

Women, exclusively, plaited sleeping mats, while both men and women braided yucca or tanned hide rope. It is likely that both sexes had a hand in preparation of materials and fabrication of the rubbed cedarbark slow match and of braided cotton cord which formed part of the strike-a-light. Springs and mattresses, hemp or nylon rope, and matches have replaced these articles, although young boys and men occasionally braid quirts.
[177] Women commonly made rabbitskin blankets, now no longer used, but they
[297] were sometimes assisted by old men. Cradleboards, still used for every baby, are made by women who also prepare the materials, but a woman may send her husband to gather willows for this purpose.

Decoration was kept to a minimum, almost always consisting of one, two, or three lines with solid triangles aligned against them, or rows of short parallel lines angling with the direction of weave. On one burden basket in use in 1960, ornamentation consisted of an encircling black line omitted on that portion of the basket which would lie against the bearer's back, Spier (1928, 137) notes that this was common practice. In coiled basketry for the tourist trade, more interest is taken in producing a pleasing decoration, but no distinctively Havasupai style has emerged. Three weavers are especially skillful in ornamentation, all of which is woven into the body of the basket with black stripe from the seed pod of the devil's claw, the stripe being sized to match the willows used in the remainder of the weaving. Designs usually are composed of small masses or lines of solid black. Animal or bird forms are occasionally represented, but geometric designs are more common. Ideas for designs are often original with the weaver rather than traditional in the tribe. One weaver imitated a four-leaf clover, creating a well balanced and pleasing effect. Another produced a spotty, poorly conceived design by scattering too many small images of birds and animals on the face of a tray. A young woman who decided to learn the weaving art consulted a book on Papago basket weaving to borrow designs. 285 531

Spier (1928, 153) notes, "The decorations on coiled baskets and twined burden baskets and trays of the Paviotso, Moapa, Yavapai, and Walapai bear definite resemblances to those of the Havasupai." [171]

Spier (1928, 139-38) gives a detailed description of techniques used in twining and coiling. Both processes also were observed and photographed by this investigator. Techniques used remain as Spier described them; and only additional observations will be recorded here. [114]

For twined baskets, twigs for the warp, or ribs, are prepared by merely stripping the leaves and leaving the bark. For weft, twigs are split into three strips starting at the small end by manipulating with the teeth and both hands. The pithy section of each weft strip is scraped off by drawing it at a right angle across the blade of a knife held parallel to the extended index finger. The bark is left on, and if a completed basket is examined closely, it may be seen that, in drying, the bark separates from the woody part of the strip giving the finished basket the effect of being woven with double weft strips. Weft strips are woven with the woody surface of each strip turned to the interior of trays and to the exterior of burden baskets so that the side most often seen on the finished product is the light golden color of the wood while the reverse side is the darker brown or tan of the bark. The weaver works with the woody surface of the weft strips or the "right" side of the basket toward her; hence, she weaves a tray holding the interior surface toward her but turns a burden basket upside down with its exterior surface toward her. 285

More recently, in 1954, a boy of 19 shot himself, supposedly because his parents strongly opposed his marriage to the girl of his choice. 762

The attempted shooting occurred when a man turned a gun on his son as the boy tried to stop his father from beating his mother. Apparently there is some question concerning the manner in which the father eventually met his death, but informants seemed reluctant to discuss the case. The death apparently was either suicide or accidental.

Several versions concerning the death of Prince Wodo are obtainable, depending upon the relationship of the informant to the deceased, and other factors. Reportedly, the old man was disturbed because he thought certain persons had designs upon his land. Service (1947, 362) recorded a version of the story which appears to have originated with one of the men who wanted the land but received none after the old man's death. He writes, "It is said that the old man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set fire to it, and burned to death." However, the possibility remains that the death was accidental. A disinterested and unrelated informant on the day before Prince Wodo's death witnessed a dispute between Prince Wodo and others interested in inheriting his land. This informant, although aware that Prince Wodo became angry during the quarrel, thought that the position of Prince Wodo's body may have indicated an attempt to escape from the burning house. The body was lying prone near the door as though the old man had awakened, stumbled toward the door, and fallen before he could make his way out. Spier (personal communication, 1957) inclines to the opinion that Prince Wodo, who was considered odd by his fellow tribesmen, might have been capable of suicide but there is a possibility he foolishly may have set the fire to get attention, intending to escape before the fire got out of hand. [114] [158]

A deliberate killing which occurred long ago was that of a Walapai medicine man who was believed to have killed a number of Havasupai by poisoning them. An angry relative of one of the dead stole upon the shaman while he was swimming, and from behind shot him through the heart with an arrow. The shaman had many relatives among the Walapai, but reportedly, none of them ever said anything to the Havasupai about his death. Several other killings or purported plots to kill were mentioned by informants; nearly all the victims were medicine men. 683 754

The Havasupai

IN Cataract Canyon, within the boundaries of the Grand Canyon National Park, nearly three thousand feet below the land above, live the Havasupai Indians. Hemmed in by towering walls of red sandstone the acreage of their reservation is very small but its fertility, spectacular scenery, and unusual setting as a habitation for man ranks it as one of the most remarkable places in Arizona. 131

The original reservation of 1880 was a tract of land about five miles wide and twelve long surrounding the inhabited part of Cataract Canyon. Two years later the size was reduced to the irregular strip of canyon bottom land extending a mile and a half north and south of the Indian settlement, an area of 518.6 acres. The population is also small. The Indian Bureau census of 1939 shows two hundred thirteen members, a slight increase in recent years. The tribe has probably never numbered more than three hundred. 161 [174]

Cataract Canyon is almost semi-tropical. The high plateaus of the surrounding country have a temperate climate but the village, shut in as it is, averages from ten to twelve degrees warmer the year round. In summer it is very hot, the temperature often reaching one hundred and twelve degrees. 132

Through the canyon's gorge runs Cataract Creek which plunges over precipitous cliffs forming several beautiful waterfalls. Mooney Falls, the largest is nearly two hundred feet high. Passing through miles of limestone formations the water is heavily impregnated with calcium and magnesium carbonates, calcium sulphate, and magnesium chlorides. These mineral salts in solution over a period of time, coat everything they touch with a stony deposit and impart a light tinge to the water which imparts a light blue or greenish blue to the creek. Where the water gathers in pools at the foot of the falls, it is a fascinating turquoise color. 133 135

Taking their name from the water of the creek, these Indians have become known as the blue-water people (Havasu, blue or green water; pai, people). 101

The Havasupai speak a language of the Yuman stock, and are closely allied to the Hualapai their near neighbors on the west. They speak a similar language, having a slight variation of dialect. Hualapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai are dialects of a single language which is closely related to Mohave and Yuman. 197

HISTORY

Archaeologists have believed the Havasupai formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado to the east of the San Francisco Mountains where ruins may be found today. As a result of war with other tribes they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mountains subsequently leaving these for their present home. In Cataract Canyon they found plenty of water, a mild climate, and protection from the raids of more powerful tribes. Recent evidence would seem to show that this is not correct, although the information here given is to be found in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians. 174 [174]

The first written record of the Havasupai dates from 1776 when Padre Francisco Garces, a Spanish mission priest, stopped there. There was little contact of the tribe with the Americans for the next hundred years, except for an occasional visit of trappers, prospectors, and exploring parties. 175

For several years following the establishment of the reservation 175 648

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953) 1956
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Havasupai

172 of Period V, the change was complete. No more cliff dwellings were in use. For the Cohonina three hundred peaceful years were to follow, a rest they could well appreciate.

During this period the population was small compared to that of the previous one, when it had been three hundred per cent higher. The drop was mainly due to the exodus of all but one of the foreign groups near the end of the thirteenth century. Only the Cerbat remained in small numbers, perhaps represented by scattered families. As far as can be determined, all the Cohonina lived in the canyon during the summer, but in the winter the people were probably scattered in small settlements on the plateau. Possibly there were some farming communities in the upland regions, but these could have been located only near springs, for since Period III, when full-time farming was last practiced on the plateau, an increasing aridity had made the plateau less well suited for agricultural exploitation.

The archaeological record indicates very little change during Period V, which for this reason might be termed a period of stability. There were still trade contacts and influences from the Tusayan groups to the east, and if the historic Havasupai pattern applied at this earlier date, a certain number of Cohonina may have resided among the Hopi in their pueblos east of the Little Colorado River. However, this had little effect on the Cohonina, who by this time had had enough contact with the prehistoric Hopi to have accepted all the traits they wanted.

This period of peaceful stability and low cultural intensity ended near 1600 A.D., with the first gentle impacts of Anglo-American culture

Period VI — Anglo-Diffusion

175 The gradual acquisition of American material culture characterizes Period VI. Living as they did in the seclusion of Cataract Creek Canyon, the Cohonina-Havasupai were able to avoid the sharp break which took place in the culture of so many American Indian groups at the time of contact. Although there had been Spanish expeditions into the general region as early as 1540, when Cardenas discovered the Grand Canyon, the borrowing of white traits probably did not begin until the establishment of the Franciscan missions in the Hopi country, in 1629. By 1776 when the first white man descended the canyon trail, the Havasupai had already acquired horses, cattle, and European trade cloth (Coues 1900). They had also adopted Old World plants such as apricots, figs, peaches, and alfalfa before the later white men began to frequent Havasupai territory regularly.

The culture which we have outlined for this period is that traditionally known as Havasupai, with the addition of the Anglo items. Spier's (1928) description of the Havasupai, which attempts to give a picture of this culture as it was before the new items were accepted, is thus possibly applicable to Period V.

As far as can be determined, settlements at this period were still concentrated in the canyon, with the plateau used only for winter

8:Service E-5 (1946) 1947
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RECENT OBSERVATIONS ON HAVASUPAI LAND TENURE[1]

ELMAN SERVICE

THE HAVASUPAI INDIANS are a closely knit, isolated band in northern Arizona which has numbered around 200-250 people for as long as we know of them. Dr Leslie Spier visited them in 1918, 1919 and 1921 and has published a full description of their culture.[2] Geographic isolation has restricted the disruptive effects of white acculturation, so that Spier's ethnography is still accurately descriptive of the Havasupai, except for the few modern changes to be discussed in this paper. Aside from my interpretations as to the meaning of these more recent data, I have added nothing which was not already discussed by Spier in his monograph.

The Havasupai live by intensive irrigation farming, and make full use of the approximately 100 acres of tillable land. They are, understandably, strongly attached to their land, and feel that they live in a beautiful oasis which is unique in the arid Grand Canyon region. The individual land holdings are of very small patches, which, because of the vagaries of inheritance, are widely scattered among the holdings of other individuals. There are no particular problems involved in the control and apportioning of water for the fields, as the creek which bisects their canyon supplies more than enough for everyone. Upkeep of the main irrigation ditches is a community affair, while the lateral ditches are kept up by the persons effected.

The Havasupai have no clan system, nor do they even recognize lineages based on relationships beyond the grandparental generation. The conjugal unit and the patrilocal extended family are the chief social structures within the village, which now consists of 38 occupied camps. In an interesting paper called *A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*,[3] Spier pointed out the possibility of patrilineal gentes arising here should there occur (1) a greater emphasis in patrilineal inheritance, and (2) a greater regularity in patrilocal residence, which together might tend to bring a further extension of kinship recognition in the father's line. At the time of his visits, the usual post-marital residence was temporarily matrilocal, followed in a year or two by patrilocality.

1 Read before Section H-Anthropology of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, December 27, 1946. The data were obtained during a visit to Supai, Arizona, in May, June, and July, 1946.

2 *Havasupai Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 29, Part 3, 1928).

3 American Anthropologist, Vol. 24, pp. 487-489, 1922.

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Several changes have occurred since Spier's visits. The Indians no longer spend the fall and winter months of each year on the Plateau gathering wild foods and hunting. Males are more prominent nowadays as workers of agricultural land, possibly because this is the chief source of food, whereas in earlier times male hunting and female gathering were important supplementary food-getting activities, especially during the season of Plateau residence. White influence, too, is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance. Correlated with the above changes, the custom of temporary matrilocal postmarital residence is disappearing.

Out of 57 intra-village marriages in the past 30 years, 38 were clearly patrilocal, 16 intermediate, and 3 permanently matrilocal. The patrilocal couples all work on the husband's family's land, or have already inherited a share of it. All of the 16 "intermediate" couples live where they do because of various exigencies involving the inheritance of the land they work and/or the acquisition of one of the few permanent type houses. Of the three cases of matrilocality, two occurred because the male's father's household had died out. The other case is that of Spoonhead, who inherited no land from his own family. The reason for this will be mentioned later.

It therefore appears that the second of Spier's conditions has taken place to some extent, namely, an increase in male prominence with more regularity in patrilocal residence. Furthermore, this seems correlated with patrilineal inheritance of land. Apparently this inheritance, however, has not been of the sort that has furthered the patrilineal tracing of kindred. Disposal of land has often been attended by acrimonious disputes, so that one is probably justified in judging that perhaps neither individual ownership nor simple patrilineal succession are necessarily the only rules by which land is allocated. With this in mind I shall attempt to describe land rights by summing up data which involved circumstantial cases of inheritance, transactions, wills, and other overt manifestations.

Items of personal use other than land are clearly owned by the individual, and objects which are on the land—houses, crops, horses, and the few cattle—are also individually owned, for there is abundant evidence that a person can dispose of these items largely as he wishes. When he dies, much of his personal property is buried with him, his house is burned or abandoned,[4] and the crops he

4 About half of the houses are now of a permanent type and are not burned at the owner's death, but are temporarily abandoned, to be occupied later when needed. There is no particular rule of inheritance with respect to the permanent houses, as they can be considered negligible as a factor in this discussion of inheritance. In another type of community, house ownership could, of course, be very important. See Elsie Clews Parsons, *The Hopi-Cien*

8:Service E-5 (1946) 1947
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the Havasupai, and that use, merit, and need are such important considerations in the allocation of land, are factors which tend to keep patrilineal succession rather far from being a strict rule. The small community size probably helps keep the conception of village rights strong, and the limited amount of tillable land likewise contributes to the amount of community interest in land disposal, for otherwise there would soon be landless couples, while other families would have more than necessary.

One further point made by Spier should probably be discussed in connection with community size. He had mentioned the possible influence of the small population in inhibiting the group consciousness of a larger consanguineal unit, but felt that this would be overcome by the tendency toward the reduction of the number of biological groups represented in the population.[12] Genealogies show that the blood groups are becoming reduced in number, as suggested, but the Havasupai still do not trace their lineages far enough to be aware of this. Lineages are not named, and even the use of the white man's type of surname has as yet had no effect in furthering the tracing of a patrilineal lineage beyond two or three generations, at the most. The "white name" is often changed, and a family may even have a name derived from an ancestral female. As an example of the tendency for a line to proliferate into new named families, three sons of a woman named Siyuidja founded three distinct families: the Siyuidja family, the Wascoguma family, and the Watahomidja family. Therefore, I feel that the small population size continues to be of significance in inhibiting nucleation of the village.

My own data, collected twenty-six years after Spier's last visit, affirm, I believe, the essential validity of his analysis of an incipient clan system in Havasupai, and I add only that it appears to me that expansion of the population plus a corresponding increase of agricultural land are necessary ingredients before a unilinear lineage could become fully crystallized here, for only then would it be likely that a rule of patrilineal succession to familial lands could operate freely without interference from the strong conception of village rights which pertains at present.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

12 *A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*, p. 487.

11: Shufeldt D-4 (no date) 1892
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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE HAVESU-PAI INDIANS.

BY

R. W. SHUFELDT, M. D.

(With Plates XXV, XXVI.)

Several years ago when the writer had the opportunity of studying some of the tribes of our Indians in the southwest, especially those found in northwestern New Mexico and over the adjacent boundary of Arizona, he met with Mr. Benj. Wittick, formerly a photographer in the employ of the U. S. Geological Survey, who was making a collection of photographs of the Indians of that region. He had visited that least known tribe of Arizona Indians, the Havesu-pai, of the so-called Su-pai Cañon, and had obtained some excellent pictures of them. I was so fortunate as to secure prints of Mr. Wittick's photographs of that race. As we have no good illustrations of those people that I am aware of, it is hoped that the two plates we are enabled to reproduce here of them will be found useful to the anthropologist.

In every sense of the word the Havesu-pais are a dying race. There is but a remnant of them now in existence; I have heard it said, less than two hundred. They exist in one of the grandest cañons in all Arizona, living in their primitive lodges along the bank of the stream that passes through it. Upon looking up such matter as had been written upon this departing tribe of Indians, I found it to be exceeding meager; indeed there is little or nothing known about them. From the very inaccessible place of their abode they have been very rarely seen, and only on few occasions by scientific men. Mr. Albert S. Gatschet of the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution confirmed this opinion, and said that those Indians were known in former times by the name of "Koxoninos," or "Cochnichnos," but that they were the "Cosninos" of the Moquis of Arizona. Properly they should be known by the name that the Yumas call them, that is the Havesu-pai, or Avésu-pai, meaning the "down below people, or a tribe or race that live down in the cañon." "Páya, pái," being "all, people." They themselves claim to be descended from the Wolapai.

In Vol. III of the Pacific Railroad Reports, Whipple barely alludes to them. On page 80 of that work he states that "upon old Spanish

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maps the San Francisco mountain is represented as belonging to the continuous Mogollon chain, which comes from the east southeast, and was called Sierra de los Cosninos, the name of a tribe of Indians inhabiting this region. I am under the impression that Leroux, the early explorer in that part of the country was finally murdered by the Cosninos, but I do not remember that the account has ever been printed." Whipple also refers to the "Cosnino caves," remarking that "the Cosnino caves had been plastered with mortar, showing more artistic skill than is practiced by the present occupants of the country" (*loc. cit.*, p. 15). And again on page 19 he goes to show that, taken collectively, the Pontos, Cosninos, and Yampais together number 6,000 souls; of these 2,000 were Yampais (p. 17). But all this is very brief and unsatisfactory.

Capt. John G. Bourke in his work on "The Snake-dance of the Moquis of Arizona" (1884), says, "At Keam's ranch we met Mr. Alexander Steven, a bright Scotchman who during the past 12 years has had considerable experience as a metallurgist and mining prospector in Nevada and Utah. He gave me a thrilling account of his journey westward to the country of the Cohoninos, a tribe of Indians living in the cañon of Cataract Creek, near its junction with the Grand Cañon of the Colorado in this Territory.

"They number only from forty to fifty warriors, live in the cliffs in winter, and build 'wickyups' or sapling lodges in summer. They say that the Hualpais (Wolapais), Apache-Mojaves, and themselves are all one people—Cohoninos—but that *their* proper designation is the "Ah-Supai.

"They raise an abundance of finest peaches, good corn and melons, and weave unusually fine and beautiful baskets. They are great hunters, and eke out a living by trading off buckskins, and sometimes mountain lion pelts, to the Moquis, Navajos, and Apaches.

"The cañon in which they dwell is 4,500 feet deep, and is that of the Cataract Creek, a strong body of clear water tumbling by a series of cascades into the Grand Cañon of the Colorado, 1,500 feet still deeper, and separated from their village by a series of blood-curdling precipices and chasms" (pp. 80, 81). Captain Bourke, in speaking of the Moquis, says further, that "Intimate commercial relations are maintained with the Cohoninos or Ava-Supais on the west (*loc. cit.*, p. 254).

In a lecture before the National Academy of Sciences, delivered in Washington, April 22, 1882, Mr. Frank H. Cushing in referring to the Zunians said, "Interesting among the hero-gods is the great priest of all religious orders save that of the bow, *Poshai Anh'ia*. In the days of the new, yet not until after men had begun their journey toward the east, he is supposed to have appeared among the ancestors of the Zuñis, the Taos, the Coconinos, and the Moqui Indians, so poor and ill-clad as to have been ridiculed by mankind." This lecture was afterwards published in The Popular Science Monthly, of New York (1882, p. 191).

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175 Mr. Cushing's best account of these people, however, is published in another connection, wherein he relates how he made a long and dangerous journey from Moqui to the Supai Cañon.*

Following his description of hazardous descent into that fearful gorge, Cushing goes on to say in his article, that "the first Ha-va-su-pai I saw
[291] may be taken as a type of his race. But lightly clothed, a strange close head-band around his temples, he swiftly passed from one bush to another as we we emerged from the little grove. Below us stretched a
[133] green, moist plain of sandy soil, nearly two miles long by half a mile at its greatest width. We could catch only occasional glimpses of it through the rank growth of willows, the leaves of which everywhere brushed our heads as we rode along the river trail; these glimpses,
[241] however, revealed numerous cultivated fields of corn, beans, sunflowers, melons, peaches, apricots, and certain plants used in dyeing and basket making, and usually carefully protected by hedges of wattled willows or fences of cottonwood poles. Everywhere these fields were crossed
[312] and recrossed by a net work of irrigating canals and trails. Here and
[342] there were little cabins, or shelters, flat-roofed, dirt-covered, and closed in on three sides by wattled flags, canes, and slender branches, while the front was protected by a hedge like those of the fields, only taller, placed a few feet before the house, and between which and the house burned smoky fires."

"The houses were always nestled down among the thick willows
[361] bordering the river, or perched on some convenient shelf, under the shadows of the western precipice. In several places, within some of the great horizontal cracks of these western cliffs, and often high up, were little buildings of stone laid in mud plaster, and not unlike the cliff dwellings we had observed on the way down, and of which ruins exist in almost every cañon throughout the great southwest."

"When we again caught sight of our Kuhni, in a little opening near the trail, he was evidently uncertain whether to run forward and warn the tribe—whose voices, mingled with the barking of dogs and the murmuring of the river, could be heard below—of our coming, or wait to greet us. Finally, he shouted in a rapid, gurgling, soft sort of language, that the villagers were coming; and then, with sort of a questioning smile, turned toward us, keeping up a ceaseless gibberish, but eyeing me closely, and evidently thinking me the most curious member of the
114 175 party."

The only other facts of importance given in this narrative are that
[756] those Indians have their medicine men and use the "sweat house," a
[515] plan of treatment seen among many other tribes. They have a great
[231] number of dogs about their village, and many of the families are blessed
[648] with from five to six children. They are, so far as the writer is aware, upon excellent terms of friendship with the whites. I am not aware

*Cushing, Frank Hamilton. "The Nation of the Willows." The Atlantic Monthly, September, 1882, pp. 362-374. The quotation I make is from page 374.

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114 that Mr. Cushing has published anything further upon these very in-
115 teresting people, although he was evidently among them for several days and must have in that time amassed some considerable information.

This is absolutely all the information of any importance that I have been enabled to get together about these Indians, and Mr. Gatschet has informed me that it is about all that has ever been written.

Science in general, and anthropology in particular, I must believe, would be well repaid could a good and active anthropologist live with these Indians for a month or more and gather up everything there is to be known about them.

114 The styles of their lodges and their architecture are well shown in my two plates. We can also see other objects there worthy of our attention, as the varied costumes of the men, women, and children, as well as the peculiar forms of their curious baskets lying about. Further, in Pl. II, it is interesting to note the fashion of fixing the hair in the women and in the girls; it would seem that it pointed to affinities with the [17] Pueblan Indians.

14:Smithson & Euler E-5 (1951-1958, 1962)1964 NT 14 Plateau Yumans NT 14
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FOREWORD

by

Jesse D. Jennings

Carma Lee Smithson was an ambitious woman, single-minded in her interest in anthropology. As a student she was interested in all the subfields, but in research her concern was only with the living. She selected the Havasupai as the aboriginal group she wished to know. Her sympathy with the Havasupai was recognized by the tribe. Its members proffered such respect and trust that Carma Lee had continuous good rapport as she pursued detailed study of the culture. The professional reception of her Havasupai Woman monograph, of which the tribe fully approved, led her to undertake this record of religious beliefs.

This material is woefully incomplete. The field work was never finished because Carma Lee fell prey to an illness finally diagnosed as lymphosarcoma, to which she succumbed in 1961. Work on this project really never got fully underway. She was able to visit the tribe for only brief periods after 1958. Late in her illness, she arranged a rendezvous with informants at Flagstaff because the journey down into their canyon home-land was then beyond her strength. On this occasion, her informants did not appear and she returned to Salt Lake City having accomplished nothing. It is a measure of her interest in the Havasupai and of her devotion to science that when it was evident she could not finish the task, she requested that her notes be made available to Robert C. Euler.

My own role in the Havasupai studies has been very limited. Aside from encouragement and the raising of funds, I took no part. I most appreciatively acknowledge the patience shown by the University of Utah Research Committee during Smithson's long illness when no progress was being made toward completion and, later, in leaving the unused grant funds available so that Euler could re-visit the tribe in 1962.

In publishing these incomplete notes on religion and mythology, I feel that we are not only adding something to the data of Southwestern anthropology, but are paying respect to Smithson's dedication as well.

14:Smithson & Euler E-5 (1951-1958, 1962)1964 NT 14 Plateau Yumans NT 14
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PREFACE

by

Robert C. Euler

In the aboriginal and early historic period the Havasupai and Walapai considered themselves to be a single ethnic group, Pai, the people, distinct from all others including the Yavapai (Dobyns and Euler, 1960; Euler and Dobyns, 1960). Their culture, including their religious and mythological tenets, was essentially the same. 101

Although basic ethnographic studies have been published for both (Kroeber, 1935; Spier, 1928), Pai religion has not been treated in detail. Smithson, in The Havasupai Woman (1959), concerned herself only tangentially with these matters as they pertained to women in the society. Yet, on her several field trips from 1951 through 1958, she had elicited additional and more detailed data from several informants. Her final trip to the Havasupai, for three months in the summer of 1958, was for the express purpose, and was supported by a grant from the University of Utah Research Fund. 114

These unpublished notes came into my hands after Mrs. Smithson's untimely death, at her initial request and through the courtesy of Jesse D. Jennings. Mrs. Smithson and I, when she first learned of her incurable illness, had discussed the matter personally. This was at a time when I was working independently on other aspects of Havasupai culture, but with essentially the same informants. We remain in her debt for concerning herself with the ultimate disposition of her notes during such a trying period of her life, and in that of Jennings for arranging for the editing and publication of the material. I should like, also, to express my appreciation to the University of Utah Research Fund for permitting me to utilize the unexpended balance of the grant in the preparation of this study. I also wish to thank those unnamed Havasupai informants who patiently helped me recheck portions of the notes in the summer of 1962. Their cooperation was due in large measure to the rapport that Smithson had earlier established. 122 128 115

That the data are not full is a factor of several matters beyond the control of the authors. Smithson worked with the last elderly Havasupai shaman who, in his advanced years, had limitations of recall. He had died prior to my last visit in 1962. Other, lay, informants had less knowledge of the more esoteric practices. 114 115

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755 cards: visions of Queens and Jacks would appear to flash on and off the
822 patient's chest.

756 Occasionally a shaman wore eagle down feathers in his hair while
755 curing. These were tied at the back of the head and hung loosely. Shamans
301 also put feathers and white paint on the patient. The paint, white clay ob-
302 tained near the village, was applied in dots or lines in varying designs ac-
cording to the illness. No special garments or other ceremonial appurte-
nances were worn by either shaman or patient.

755 Shamans usually practiced alone, but four lay singers would some-
756 times assist. They did not know the words of the shamans' songs, but
[533] hummed the tune or rhythm. These assistants would participate only dur-
ing the first song, which was repeated four times. If a patient was consid-
ered very ill, however, the relatives might request an additional shaman to
sing. Once when our shaman informant was ill, he asked three other shamans,
including a Walapai, to sing for him. Parenthetically, he was not cured and,
according to him, his own spirit told him to consult an Anglo physician.
Shamans usually did not have the power to cure themselves or close relatives.

756 Our lay informants denied that females became shamans, although
● [114] they reported one formerly among the Walapai. This is in agreement with
Spier (1928, 277) and Kroeber (1935, 185). Havasupais frequently had the
Walapai shamaness sing for them when they were visiting that area. How-
ever, our shaman informant knew of one elderly Havasupai woman who sang
over sick people. She did not effect cures by herself, but sang with male
shamans at their request.

Within the lifetimes of our informants no shamans had been killed for
failing to effect a cure. An aboriginal pattern for this seems clear, how-
ever. One shaman who lost a patient, and who was suspected of having used
a malevolent spirit, was hung by his neck from a mesquite tree while brush
piled under him was ignited.

242 It was thought that pictographs painted on cliff walls were done by
756 shamans with the intent to harm someone. Those in a rockshelter in Cat-
754 aract Canyon a few miles upstream from the village were considered es-
[172] pecially dangerous. [These are illustrated by Iliff (1954) and James (1911,
265). The site was a former Havasupai occupation shelter and has been
recorded in the archeological survey of the Museum of Northern Arizona as
NA 7306.] My lay informant who took me to it denied any knowledge of the
paintings. Our shaman informant believed that one individual who lost his
vision did so because he frequently passed by this point. [It should be
noted, however, that these pictographs are along the formerly heavily trav-
eled Topocoba trail to the plateau.]

764 At death, the relatives washed the corpse and dressed it in clean clothes. A blanket was wrapped around the body and sewn together leaving [178] an opening only for the face. Within 24 hours it was cremated or, in more [535] recent times, interred. ["Crys" or mourning rites, without dancing, were [177] held at any time convenient for the majority of survivors. Today the Mohave mourning ceremony has been adopted, not only after the death of an individual, but, through acculturation, annually on May 30th, Memorial Day.]

Spier (1928, 292) reported the last cremation 25 years before his study, but our informants referred to two cremations in the winter of 1919 (when the ground was frozen hard). [According to Whiting (MS) Sinyella's son was cremated in 1897, Chief Navajo was buried in 1898, and Rock Jones [766] was cremated in the late 1920's. When Curtis (1908, 101) visited the Havasupai he reported only interment of the dead.] Infants were not cremated in fear that the mother would become barren. The deceased's head was pointed to the north, less frequently south or west, and never to the east in fear that the latter position would guarantee return of the ghost. Burial [178] in rock crevices or in caves was common [although today all are buried in a cemetery below the village] .

Prior to the adoption of the Mohave funeral ceremony with its accompanying dancing, when a corpse was ready to be either cremated or interred, a lone speaker would stand near the head and, addressing the deceased, tell it that those still alive wish it had not died; that it was nevertheless going to a better place with better food and water, and that the living must await their time.

764 Spier (1928, 293) was correct in indicating that the first Mohave mourn-
177 ing songs were used at a funeral in 1919, although some Havasupai had begun
● [114] to learn them as early as 1914. At the time some Mohaves and Chemehuevis visited Havasupai and sang them at a "pow-wow"[?] . Later, the Havasupai [535] learned others from the Walapai. The use of the Mohave dance at funerals may not have begun until as late as 1943.

764 [Since a contemporary Havasupai funeral ceremony has not been reported upon in detail, we shall describe the one that Smithson (1959, 133) observed in 1951.]

The Funeral of Mexican Jack

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[165] Mexican Jack died of tuberculosis at Grand Canyon on July 29, 1951, in his 77th year as nearly as could be ascertained. He was a widower, leaving two children. Throughout his life he had been well respected, and

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informants, making a total of 10 or more couples. [I would be inclined, however, to agree with Spier (1928, 266) who indicated that only men danced. It is probable that, as in Hopi kachina dances, men impersonated women.] They formed a single file, men and women alternating. At a signal from the leader the men and women formed separate lines, and the dance leaders danced outside of the two columns. [See Spier (1928, 267) for discrepancies here. Either or both versions could be correct.] The dance leaders would move to the rear, followed by couples in turn, as Spier (1928, 267) indicated, "much like a Virginia reel." Then one of the leaders danced again to the rear of the columns, and all of the participants returned to the single line, dancing away from the audience until they were out of sight. The dance step was similar to that of the Hopi, dancers moving their feet up and down in one spot, moving forward only when leaders started to the rear.

[114] ●

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The songs were not Havasupai [our informants could not recall the language]. The purpose of the dance was to bring rain. The participants pretended to be "weather people" who came to visit "these round dance people." A chief talked to them saying, "We are glad you came and brought us this food [corn, pumpkins, melons carried by the women]. We need it. We like your weather. When you return, tell your people we like your weather." Then, in signs so as not to reveal his identity, the leader of the "weather people" would nod affirmatively. He would point to the sky and move his hands downward in a fluttering motion to indicate rain. With two fingers straddling another finger and making a circular motion he would indicate fat horses. With his hands describing a circular motion over his stomach he indicated that it was filled with food. Moving his hands upward he intimated growing grass and crops.

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Masks were not removed during the dance in order to conceal the identity of the participants, and children were led to believe they came from another tribe.

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At the conclusion of the dance two of the masked impersonators indicated that they wished to play games and engage in foot races [an incorporation of the function of Hopi clowns]. A good runner from the audience would race them, attempting to gain sufficient distance to prevent the masked racers from striking him with whips. These were made of shredded yucca leaves tied together and were three to four feet long. Another masked dancer would stand at the finish line and distribute bread or peaches to the audience while an unmasked person sprinkled white paint or cornmeal on the dancers. [This is obviously the counterpart of the Hopi priest who acts as "father" of the kachinas during their performances.] The entire performance, dance and race, was repeated four times.

[177]

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522 Other clowning activities involved a pretense at anger on the part of two of the masked men, often the leaders, who would chase spectators or grab young girls in an attempt to dance with them. On other occasions one of the masked figures would hold a king snake and frighten the audience with it.

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535 Spier's (1928, 267, Fig. 52) description and illustration of the masks were quite accurate. The person sponsoring the dance prepared the masks with some assistance from friends. They were made by doubling a piece of canvas and sewing it into a sack. A face was painted on the front. This involved geometric designs in black, red and white, although the colors had no special meaning. Openings for eyes and mouth were cut into them. The masks of the two leaders had leather tubes sewed to the mouth opening. Attached feathers were tipped with down. Women's masks were characterized by only one or two feathers and were painted red and white in designs consisting of red vertical lines or crosses on the cheeks. Those depicted by Spier (1928, 267, Fig. 52) were more typical of those worn by men. Some women did not wear masks, but painted their heads white with a red circle outlining the face. This was exceptional, however. The associated costume of the women consisted of willow bark strips hung from a belt like a skirt worn over a dress. The masks of the male impersonators contained more feathers and were white with minor design elements in red and black. Occasionally horse hair was attached to simulate human hair. This was allowed to hang freely or was tied in a knot at the back. Men's costumes included willow branches and leaves encircling the waist to hide their rolled-up denim trousers. Their legs and bodies were painted white with black spots at random. These were intended to indicate raindrops. No lightning designs were utilized. Men also wore willow leaves in a ruff around the neck and carried willow branches in their hands which they moved up and down in time with the dance rhythm. The men who distributed the food often wore cast-off women's clothing which they then discarded in a secreted dressing area.

[502]

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796 Our informants were in agreement that, aside from one attempt to hold the kachina dance in 1931 or 1932, the last had been portrayed in 1910, the year before the big flood (Spier, 1928, 94). Prior to that it had been customary to hold it every year, usually in conjunction with the harvest round dance. The seemingly paradoxical action of having the rain dance at the harvest rather than during the earlier summer rainy season was explained by informants who indicated that at the earlier date not enough fresh food would have been available for distribution to the audience. (In all probability, the rain itself was not needed [because of the perennial stream flowing through the fields], but the concept was retained along with the other obvious Hopi features.) [This certainly does not appear to be similar to the rain dance that Kroeber (1935, 202-3) reported for the Walapai.

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*539 [114] Twelve of the legends in Walapai Ethnography are identical to those Smithson collected, varying only in minor detail and in certain geographical aspects that seem to be localized.

538 [825] The Havasupai told these stories only during long winter evenings. If they were related during other seasons of the year it was believed that black widow spiders or snakes would bite the teller. Stories had no particular sequence. The story teller or someone in the audience would suggest favorites. Or, the teller would ask for suggestions from the listeners. Some legends were specifically designed for children, but none were withheld from them. Stories must be completed the same evening they are begun. [226] If not, the teller or his listeners might become crippled in some way. Narrators of the tales usually were given presents of meat.]

1. Origins

*539 [This story contains certain elements of the usual Pai origin myths, but it also reveals data seemingly localized among the Havasupai bands. Compare Dobyns and Euler, 1961.]

People [once] lived under the earth somewhere, nobody knows where, they lived underground where it was dark with no sun; they lived near a pool of water; there were just a few families living there.

One day two brothers, leaders, told their people what to do all the time. One of the men planted grape seed by the pool. The grapevine grew fast. It coiled around like a spider web, then shot out straight. Then people climbed up to the coil and stayed all night. Then they climbed to the next coil, stayed all night, and then up again. We don't know how many times they stayed all night; then they came on top of the ground.

Back at camp was a young lady who had stayed with all the men a few nights but none of the men wanted to marry her. She was jealous of other women. One day she was sitting beside the pool looking in the water when some women came with jars for water. One of the women said, "Why do you run off like this? We want you to come home." The woman grabbed her and started looking in her hair for lice. She saw many scars and asked what they were.

The young girl was mad and went down from the top and thought the men didn't like her. She wondered what she could turn into that men would like, so she turned into a tobacco plant growing beside the pool. The men gathered it and took it to the camp. They put it in the middle of their circle and started smoking it. Then the tobacco changed to a

#539 The reeds grew in the canyon at a place that was full of bones. So they didn't tell their mother where they were going but started out this way. They cut two long juniper trees; this kind grows straight, as long as canyon is wide now. They started down the canyon carrying the logs above their heads. When nearly to the springs of Havasu Creek the walls closed up but were held by the logs which wedged between them. So they came on down the canyon and got the reeds. The logs were still wedged in the cracks in old times, but have rotted out now. When the boys returned to their mother she got after them and said, "I knew you were going down there. That's why I didn't tell you the straight story. How did you get through?" But they didn't tell her anything.

3. Frog Rock

[115] [114] [823] [This story concerns a rock formation on top of the Redwall limestone near Supai village. It was narrated by two informants. Three others denied that any legend referred to the rock even though the Havasupai generally refer to it as "Frog Rock."]

The frog came from the ocean on the west looking for a good place to stay. He crossed the Colorado River below Needles, then spent four more nights of jumping around, playing close to the river. Then he took about a month more and he arrived in Havasupai Canyon. He was poised there ready to jump when he saw the river below. He was on the very edge of the rim when he turned to stone and could jump no more. Bagiova [a localized culture-hero] turned him to stone and made him stay right there for the Indians.

4. Origin of Menstruation

[533] [Some portions of this are sung. Squirrel and his daughter had a mythical home in a canyon off the Topocoba trail about 5 miles from Supai village. This is a longer version than that published earlier by Smithson (1959, 63).]

Squirrel and his daughter and Coyote lived together. The squirrel was a little older than the coyote; he was the coyote's uncle. The squirrel went hunting and brought in a deer. While Coyote was skinning it, he put his finger in the blood and flipped it on the inside of the girl's thigh. Coyote said to her, "Sister, you are menstruating. You can't eat the meat for four days." When he said that, the girl didn't believe him. Finally she grew angry; Coyote knew about menstruation but the girl didn't. She went to this side [north] of Seligman about 10 miles where cattle tanks are now. She brought a spring forth there with the femur of a bobcat; people used to eat bobcat.